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Dulles Resurrected

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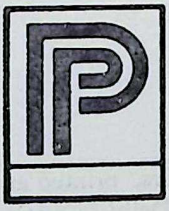

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To

My wife, Bimla

As jubilee souvenior

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Preface

"My way of joking is to tell the truth; it is the funniest joke in the world."

—George Bernard Shaw

"Ideas cannot be fought except by means of better ideas. The battle consists not of opposing, but of exposing; not of denouncing, but of disproving; not of evading, but of boldly proclaiming alternative."

—Ayn Rand

"War like any other racket pays high dividends to very few. But what does it profit the masses?.....The cost of operation is always transferred to the people who do not profit but suffer."

—Smedley Butler

"THEY are resurrecting John Foster Dulles".....I remarked spontaneously when some friends were discussing the birth of New Year ..... 1980.....and beginning of a new decade, the eighties, amidst sudden change in the world environment; from reinforced hopes for strengthened peace and international cooperation to its reverse; cold war and mounting tension. Under the discussions were some of the utterances of President Carter, his most favourite aide, Zbigniew Brzezinski and others, who were letting out their furry over the failure of

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C.I.A. plot in Kabul, and the Soviet Union's military assistance to Revolutionary Afghanistan.

It was then the idea to write this book occured to me, but it took more time before it developed into a solid project.

Some said that Dulles' ghost was back. But I don't think it is a ghost. Dulles the man is dead and burried, but what he represented is live and kicking. It is the extreme imperialist mentality steeped in to self-righteousness, committed to the interest of a very small minority of diehards who believe in divine right of dominating the world, enslaving and moulding the peoples the way they deem fit. To them war and wherwithals needed to fight it, and superiority in armaments are the imperative means to pursue their aims, also it is necessary to keep as many nations as possible either under thumb or engaged in mutual strife and confrontation. Divide and dominate is old and notorious weapon of imperialism.

What is known as Dullesism was there long before even John Foster Dulles was born or came into prominence. Personally John Foster Dulles was a man of character and extraordinary capabilities. That is why despite being only a Secretary of State, he dominated over two successive Presidents of America, Harry S. Truman and Dwight D. Eisenhower, and also dominated the American and world scenes for considerable time. His greatest achievement is that he adjusted the imperialism to the conditions of vastly changed post-war world in such way that instead of losing it edge it became more sharpened.

Dulles created his own imperialist world which ironically he called "Free World". He kept the globe in a state gripped by the fear of imminent nuclear holocaust; the Brinkmanship. The Dulles era was marked by a number of local wars in Korea, Indo-China, West Asia and Africa; each having potential to develop into world conflagration.

Dulles gave a new conception and purpose, and a clever strategy to imperialism when empires crumbled and, as he himself said, 700 million won freedom in five years. (He did not include the Chinese, then 600 million among them.) The

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well-known Truman-Dulles doctrine was essentially the original work of Dulles himself, the new Bible of imperialism. Dullesism never died; it only lay dorment during the last one and a half decade, when peace offensive gained strength world over and produced detente.

But on the last New Year Day, world had the eerie feeling that cold war and brinkmanship were back. In the utterances of Carter, Brzezinski and Margrate Thatcher there was ring of Dulles' words and what they indicated. Dulles had been resurrected.

He will be resurected every time the warmongers in the imperialist camp gain upper hand. Dullesism will die only when imperialism is totally dead.

Now amidst "Second Cold War" as Senator Edward Kennedy called it, some more thinking on the subject led me to the conclusion that in the context of the maze of conflicting claims, a plethora of mutual accussations and confusing and vociferous propaganda, the people world over especially in India should be helped to understand through a realistic analysis and appraisal of various events and factors, what cold war is, how the present and past crisis are inter-related, where the main blame lies as far as causative factors of these crisis are concerned, and how the new cold war affects the world generally and India particularly; also about the possible solutions.

Our country was not as directly involved in the earlier cold war. Indeed, the policy of nonalignment was to some extent motivated by our desire to keep aloof from the big power struggle. Under Jawaharlal Nehru's leadership we tried to pour soothing oil on troubled waters and we did succeed to a considerable extent. India played significant role of peace-maker in Indo-China, Korea and West Asia. Yet, we did not escape the evil consequence of the cold war. The 1962 invasion of Maoist China on India and 1965 aggression by Pakistan, armed to hilt by the USA, were direct results of cold war policies pursued in our region by those who wanted to punish nonaligned India. These conflicts proved forerunners to the 1971 conflict.

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Again, India is not directly involved in the current international crisis also. Yet, we felt its serious repurcussions immediately with the beginning of Afghan imbroglio. The first reaction to the despatch of Soviet troops to Kabul of President Carter was his prompt announcement to provide massive arms aid to Pakistian, our inimical neighbour, which peviously had used the modern armaments provided to it by the USA to wage two major aggressive wars against India. When I pointed out to an American diplomat that even if they transfer half of US armaments to Pakistan, it will, still not be able to withstand a mythical "Soviet invasion," but Islambad will never resist the temptation to gamble for the third time against India when it gets many times more arms from his country and China, he could give no convincing reply.

India's security is additionally threatened by the heavy concentration of 'swift action' American task force and an armada of 37 major ships in Persian Gulf, Diego Garcia base and other bases in the zone. India is known as a close and traditional friend of the Soviet Union an; enduring friendship, which has been a positive and strong factor for world peace, and which is naturally resented by war mongers and hegemonists. So, in case cold war triggers a hot conflict in which the Soviet Union is involved, will India be left alone ?

It is not my personal views alone ; the leaders of all sections of public opinion in India, even if they differ on details, unanimously expressed deep concern over the mounting threat posed to India's security by the current international crisis.

There are also no two opinions in this country on the fact that the Soviet Union has proved itself our most sincere, genuine and consistent friend,—a friend indeed and friend in need. This friendship is too valuable and sacrosanct for us. There have been changes of government and leadership in our country and in the Soviet Union also, but that did not affect the natural growth of Indo-Soviet friendship and cooperation. No party in this country is ready to sacrifice for anything this valuable and durable relationship.

Long before the Second World War, Jawaharlal Nehru said on February 7, 1936, in a London meeting : "With regard to

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Soviet Russia, the first proposition in that there is no power in the world today, which is more peaceful and less inclined to aggression than Soviet Russia".

The Soviet Union has magnificently vindicated Nehru. It has never carried out an aggression against any country. Its record in that respect is absolutely clean. Of course it has pleaded guilty of helping the victims of aggressions. The Soviet Union helped India against Chinese and Pakistani aggresions. It has without direct intervention or involvement given moral and political support to liberation movements and struggles against colonislism, imperialism and racism.

Therefore, it did surprise me that when the Soviet Union sent some troops to help a friendly country (Afghanistan) against the sneak foreign aggression launched against it, to the latter, which was added a diabolical C.I.A. putsch plot, doing so under treaty obligation, openly and in accordance with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, it was accused of "aggression", by those whose record in this regard is very black.

Further, this event was used as a pretext to fan and escalate cold war as to satisfy certain other motivations. A deliberate and well-organised effort through caluminous propaganda was made to misinform and misguide the nonaligned world especially and public opinion in other countries generally. The tactics employed in the first cold war under well-known Truman-Dulles doctrine, the ingredients of which were slanderous propaganda, mad race of armament, show of force, military pacts and creation of net work of military bases to encircle the Soviet Union, triggring local wars, backing fascist, repressive and reactionary regimes as to use them for the so-called global strategy, and creating schism against the Soviet Union and its friends by every conceivable method, are being repeated with improvements,

I am a keen and dispassionate student of politics with no political or party affiliations, and no personal motives involved. I subscribe to no particular ideology. I accept everything good—conducive to equity, justice and peace—and reject everything to the contrary. Mine is a factual and unbiased assessment.

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While writing this book I have attempted to the best of my ability to be objective, to present both point of views and provide factual background. I do not, however, claim neutrality because I honestly feel that the attitude and approach of the Soviet Union in regard to problems discussed in the book are correct. I have attempted to justify my conclusion in this regard.

I must confess the imperfections of my endeavour because the time at my disposal was very limited and reference material I could collect was inadequate. Still, I made the attempt. Now, it is for the readers to judge this work with its limitations.

I am one of those optimistic people, who believe the current cold war will not last long. I will be the happiest person if the Second Cold War soon becomes past history. There are already visible silver lining to the black clouds that hover over the world today. A thaw may set in soon. This danger of hot confrontation over Iran and Afghanistan has receded and channels of dialogues have been opened.

However. considering the complexities of the current situation, and motives that caused the "Resurrection of Dulles" it is hard to determine whether the current lull in cold war is indicative of return to detente or lull before the fresh storm. Let us hope it is the former. Yet, we have to watch the situation with crossed fingers. There, however, is the reassurance that the peace camp is gaining more strength and ultimately will succeed in preserving and strengthening the world peace. It has the backing of 99 per cent people of the world.

I owe an explanation to the readers. In the following pages I have criticised certain policies and actions of certain governments and leaders, especially those of the United States and People's Republic of China. This does not imply that I am opposed to these nations or their people. As an ardent believer in world peace and human brotherhood, I hold them in the highest esteem. It is also obvious that no abiding world accord can be possible without the participation and active cooperation of all the major nations especially these big two. My country is pledged to win friendship and cooperation of all sister nations.

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The Chinese are a great and vital people of talent and culture. It is their national tragedy that till the revolution they were subjugated by imperial dynasties which for their own vested interest kept them suppressed and isolated from outside world. In the earlier years of the revolution they demonstrated remarkable capacity to fraternise and cooperate with rest of the peace loving world and assimilate useful and practical ideas from outside, while making their own contribution to the store house of world knowledge and culture. Then China was in the vanguard of peace camp. This lasted till Maoism did not prevert the People's Revolution and began to imitate the old imperial methods of keeping people down and isolated. China's walk over to the war camp was staggering shock to the peace loving humanity.

But that does not minimise the inherent good qualities of the Chinese. Someday they will rejoin the international mainstream, when they will overcome and correct perversions of their revolution.

The Americans are a vigorous, vital and dynamic nation with revolutionary tradition that inspired other peoples, Indians including. In less than one century they built one of the world's most prosperous advanced and powerful nations. But monopolist and fascist tendencies of capitalism have corrupted and weakened the political leadership of the country. Reckon America of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln and Franklin D. Roosevelt becoming champion of colonialism, neo-colonialism and fascist racist and oppressive juntas like those in Chile, South Korea, South Africa and Israel. I am sure American people are already undergoing a process of self-introspection, and they will assert their free will on the side of true democracy and peace. The same I can say about peoples of Pakistan, Israel and others.

In this exercise of going into causes and motivation of cold war, I exchanged views with a cross section of opinions, I had discussion with many Indian leaders and foreign Ambassadors. Due to pressure of space I am reproducing only a few selected opinions including those expressed by India's External Affairs Minister, Mr. P. V. Narsimha Rao at the end. The viewpoint

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of other nations having direct bearing on the subjects under discussions are also briefly quoted, so that the reader has some clear idea of the different viewpoints when he makes a perusal of my analysis.

Here I would like to emphasise what our foreign Minister, P.V. Narsimha Rao told me :

> "A gobal detente would be possible only when the superpowers and other big powers change their attitude. Deterioration in the big power relationship has to be halted and a new climate of understanding created. This is a very intricate question. But India is prepared to play its role in this process".

Humbly, I dedicate this work to the cause of world peace and progress.

NEW DELHI
August 24, 1980

B. N. KAUL

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1

Cold War Is Back

"Let us not be deceived,—today we are in the midst of a cold war....."

—Hebert B. Swope, the ghost writer.

".....in the world's history no two nations have greater responsibilities to act with restraint and to seek accomodation than the United States and the Soviet Union....."

—Jimmy Carter at Vienna Summit.

"To act in such a way as to prevent an outbreak of nuclear war is an obligation that the Soviet Union and the United States have jointly assumed."

—Leonid Brezhnev at Vienna Summit.

MANY people world over, the overwhelming majority of human race, believed that they had burried the ghost of

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John Foster Dulles fathoms deep when SALT-II Treaty was signed in Vienna in June 1979. Although so many international problems remained unsolved and the treaty itself was only a step towards disarmament; yet, the optimistic world thought the ghost will never make its appearance again. There never will be another cold war in the world.

But the scheming war mongers, those who thrive by conflicts, bloodshed and human misery, and make billions of profit out of it; those who dream of world domination and supreme power status for themselves, had a laugh under their sleeves over the "stupidity" of this massive majority of world populace and those who, after hard negotiations, finally took third memorable step, following Helsinki Detente Treaty, towards building eternal peace on the earth.

The enemies of the peace had not been taking kindly of these protracted USSR-USA negotiations and did every thing to impede them. They were now determined to destory all what had been achieved by painstaking efforts. SALT-II had been actually finalised to the extent of over 90 per cent in Vladivostok meeting of November 1974. It took almost five years to overcome less than ten percent of differences.

And even while signing it President Carter was hesitant.

Even before he returned to Washington, a tempest of opposition had been built by reactionary vested interests led by arms industry tycoons, Pentagon generals and of course CIA bosses. They had the support of die-hard circles of West Europe. But bigger and most astounding opposition to SALT-II came from Maoist rulers of China, who denounced the treaty as "conspiracy of Soviet hegemonists", "— an unilateral accord in which the USA would suffer" and "it will become a scrap of paper in the event of war".

Within days after the Vienna Summit, Jimmy Carter met tough opposition and resistance from war industry cartels. The index of Wall Street slumped, throwing capitalist operators into a jittery. Many industrial complexes were shut down and production in other was curtailed "for the want of orders" and

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hundreds of thousands of workers were rendered idle. There already was the talk of recession. Now, a situation was so contrived that it appeared that worst-ever recession was looming large.

It was a "terrible" situation that faced Jimmy Carter, when he returned to Washington after signing SALT-II.

On the one side, he was under pressure of his new allies in Peking, wanton in their anti-Sovietism, who were trying their level best to destory even whatever Soviet-American understanding there existed and certainly would not tolerate any appreciable improvement either in the Soviet-American relations or the prospects of the world peace. One of their objectives in launching cold blooded invasion on Vietnam was to generate such a global conflict that continuing of talks on SALT-II could become meaningless.

On the other side, President Carter knew very well that the prosperity of American economy hinged on massive and diverse war industry, which produces every thing from nuclear weapons and missiles, or nuclear powered large ships and submarines to tanks, armoured cars, radar and electronic equipments, and small arms. Even West European economies are to a degree dependent upon armament production.

The U.S. President was confronted with an "impossible" situation. The U.S. economy was already seriously afflicted by energy crisis and currency muddle. Inflation was growing by over 13 percent; stock markets was going down; the number of jobless had gone up beyond 8 millions and budgetary deficit had touched, $ 15.8 billion. He was told that ratification and honest implementation of SALT-II, also resultant improvement in international situation, would reduce the demand for US arms industry and its auxiliary in West Europe by more than half. And if SALT-III was also concluded soon enough, that would be the end of the biggest profit yielding and employment generating industry of the United States. This would lead to mass unemployment and starvation.

The transformation of war industry into means of production for necessities of peaceful life does not occur or appeal to

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the profit hungry tycoons because if a tank producing complex is turned into tractor producing plant, it will make only little profit.

The same problem arose after the Second World War. Suddenly, the US arms industry, which had phenomenally grown and diversified during the war years, was left virtually idle. Hundreds of thousands demobilised from armed forces and retrenched from war industry, were seen roaming on the streets of American cities and towns. The spectre of recession haunted everybody. There were of course other causes of the cold war that followed and in which the allies of yesterday, the Soviet Union and Western powers headed by the USA became virtually belligerents. But these problems could have been solved by mutual accomodation if there were not the basic motivation of maintaining and expanding the war industry and its profits.

Another major causative factor of the cold war of Truman-Dulles era was the presence of small but powerful and influential elements in US polity, who were totally opposed to any sort of co-existence, not to speak of cooperation with the Soviet Union. To them temporary alliance with Moscow against Hitler was one of those "everything is fair in love and war" tactics. They fervently hoped that after having done away with the Nazi Germany, they could now destroy the Soviet Union as well.

There are so many of them left in the USA and West Europe even today who harbour such a wild hope, and they have been since joined by even more vehement Soviet baiters of Peking, whose foremost aim is to destory the Soviet Union.

While John Foster Dulles' name has become synonymous with cold war, the game was actually started by Winston Churchill and Harry S. Truman themselves. Soon after the surrender of Nazi Germany but when war against Japan was still on, and the United States was still deliberating whether to drop atomic bomb on Hiroshima or not as to bring a quick end of the war with Japan, Winston Churchill toured the United States and in his speeches claimed that struggle against the

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Soviet Union was inevitable. In his well remembered speech at Fulton, Missourie, Churchill gave clarion call for Anglo-U.S. alliance against the Soviet Union. The people on both sides of Atlantic were being told, "If we do not finish the Bolshevik bear soon after destruction of the Nazi python, we shall be dead overselves before long".

The hate against the Soviet Union had been spread so much that Richard Scandrett described the situation in these words in 1948 : "Even to suggest in a whisper here (in USA) now a days that every Russian is not a cannibal is to invite incarceration for subversive activities..... In American way, things are either pure black or pure white; there is no grey."

I need not recount here how the tussle between the Soviet Union and Western powers arose over the territories liberated from Nazis and Japanese. The latter wanted to return to status quo as obtained before war, and reinstate corrupt bourgeois regimes. They overlooked the vital change brought about by war and revolutionary role of the resistance movements, also the previous presence of strong liberation movements in the colonies some of which the Western powers had lost to the Nazis and Japanese. The secure markets and unlimited scope of exploitation provided by these subjugated lands plus the economic compulsions produced by dependence on war industry for employment and huge profits (and tax revenues) prevailed upon Washington and its allies to initiate and carry on for years the cold war, which was marked by number of local wars in Korea, Indo-China. Indian sub-continent, West Asia, Africa and some Latin American countries. To justify the continuance of war preparations and a new arms race, it did not take long for those who contrived cold war, to invent bogey of "growing Soviet armed threat" which continues to be paraded even today.

The Soviet Union had suffered most of all in the second World War. Almost all of its European part was turned into ruins and rubble by Nazi invaders. It paid the heaviest price in blood and sufferings. The immediate task facing it was rehabilitation of not only its own economy but also that of the liberated East European nations which opted for socialist system and so, were

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branded "Pariah" (untouchables) by the West. How could the Soviet Union be a threat to its former allies? But all they wanted was a pretext to justify their cold war and new armament strategies. So, those US forces which had landed in Europe to fight Nazis were retained as part of NATO's "defence forces" against Soviet "danger". The US arms continued to flow into Europe and other parts of the world. Previously these were for fighting Nazis and fascists, now they were to be used against communists. Thus, American war industry remained busy, and recession was averted.

The local wars instigated in areas already mentioned, generated more demand for arms. The security of other countries was threatened which forced them also to sacrifice their developmental outlays for increased defence preparedness. For instance, India, which was twice attacked by Pakistan with American arms and once by China, was forced to increase her defence budget considerably at the cost of development effort.

It was also to be noted that after the Second World War, not only the combined military strength of the West and economic resources backing it were more than twice that of socialist bloc, but also the USA had nuclear arms while the Soviet Union had none for many years to come. So, how could there be any real threat to the West from the USSR ? It took the latter over two decades to equalise its strategic capability (nuclear arms) with the USA.

If you scrutinise the events of the last three and a half decades, you will find that whenever USA faced an economic crisis, and danger of recession loomed large, it created one or the other armed conflict. The "pure white" and "pure black" mentality assumed its fantastic proportions when Dulles introduced "If you are not with me, you are my enemy" policy. When scores of emerging nations adopted non-aligned foreign policy as enunciated by India under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru, Dulles branded non-alignment as "immoral and cowardly."

Other plank of the US cold war policy (even in normal times) has been to oppose revolutionary and progressive move-

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ments, national liberation struggles and socialism based democracy. It was its attempt to foist back European imperialist rule on Indonesia and Indo-China that led to bloody wars there. In Vietnam, US jumped into the frey itself in a big way and dragged its foot too long even as its defeat became a writing on the wall. The defeat it suffered, has unfortunately not made it learn the lesson.

The so-called Israel-Egypt peace accord, for which Jimmy Carter claims great credit, has only accentuated hostility, tension and arms race in West Asia.

And now the signing of SALT-II, much against the hopes of humanity aspiring for peace actually proved to the beginning of a new cold war, which may prove more dangerous and diabolical than the first one, if it is not contained at the earliest, the blame for which has to be entirely shouldered by Jimmy Carter and the king makers of the USA behind him. The cold war is back for the same or similar reasons that wrought it on mankind in the late forties. Carter tried to appease the dominant war monger and war industry lobby in his country, which is known as the real power behind the throne in Washington which no President dares to defy, by his nuclear missiles plan for Europe. But even then he failed to get ratification of SALT-II. So, he had to wriggle out and find a way as to cast blame on the USSR for his failure.

In this regard Afghanistan provided an easy escape route and something more also—very substantial. At Vienna Summit President Carter had preached non-interference in the domestic affairs of other nations in following words :

> "Let us build on that foundation so that we can narrow our differences in a spirit of respect for the independence of all nations and the value of every human being. Let us both agree never to use offensive weapons against any nation in an act of aggression. Let us discourage the use of foreign forces in troubled regions of the world, and encourage the peaceful settlement of disputes among the people who are directly involved."

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At the same time US arms along with Pakistani and Chinese were flowing into the hands of counter-revolutionaries of Afghanistan who had fled from their country. They were being trained by US, Chinese, and Pak instructors in the use of these arms and in waging aggressive war. Their ranks were swelled by thousands of Pakistani mercenaries and they were waging sneak aggression against revolutionary Afghanistan.

And when even nuclear missile plan for Europe failed to appease the real rulers of America, the CIA came to the rescue of President Carter. It was already busy in Kabul itself. It had hooked Hafizullah Amin the US returned colleague of Father of Afghan Revolution, Noor Mohammed Taraki. Amin staged a coup and murdered Taraki and many revolutionary leaders in cold blood, along with hundreds of others and threw thousands into torture cells. The USA did not utter a word of condemnation against this traitor of Afghan Revolution. Then Amin plotted to push Afghanistan into the lap of US imperialism. To facilitate the putsch and mass murder of loyal Afghan troops he had let the invaders from Pakistan to converge on Kabul on three sides. Even a day was fixed for the final act of trechery, December 28, 1979.

Carter had okeyed this plan and arranged it such a way that he would benefit either way, whether it succeeded or not. All along he had also planned military take over of revolutionary Iran almost simultaneously on the pretext of freeing hostages.

I will describe elsewhere how the revolutionaries of Afghanistan frustrated this plot, and also saved Iran from destructive US lightening invasion. Here, I want to point out the most obvious fact; that despite the failure of CIA plot, President Carter succeeded in gaining a multiple of objectives.

He found a pretext to 'temporarily' shelve SALT-II and push up the arms race. The defence budget of USA itself has been increased by 15.8 billion dollars. Consequently defence budgets of other countries would have also to be revised upwards, including that of Soviet Union and India,

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much against their wishes. India can never ignore US plans to arm Pakistan. Already there is a boom in American war industry and nobody talks about recession. Wall Street's Dow Jones index for industrial stock had gone up by 66 point between 1st January 1980 to 1st February 1980. It was 816 on 1st January, 1980 and touched 881 on 1st February, 1980.

Jimmy Carter even shed his characteristic grin as he launched jehad against the USSR on many fronts; economic, political, cultural and even sports. He stopped trading of grain and other goods. He boycotted Moscow Olympiad. He moved better part of his naval might into the vicinity of Persian Gulf zone. He threatened nuclear war and launched his moves to turn Pakistan into biggest of his war bases.

Thanks to US war mongering, the world today is spending over one billion dollars a day on arms. If half of it were diverted to help the underdeveloped, the world would be free of poverty in five years. But that would be fatal for the profit hungry tycoons in the West.

And Carter scored a very big personal gain. Before the plot against Afghanistan was set in motion, even nuclear missiles plan had failed to catch the popular imagination (in fact there was opposition to it in USA itself) and the chances of Jimmy Carter securing even nomination for second term in the White House were rated ridiculously low. Then the opinion polls put his chances at 1:2 against his formidable rival, Senator Edward Kennedy. And he was going down hill. But now after becoming the hero of Afghanistan plot and burial of SALT-II, Jimmy Carter has won most of the primaries by a 2:1 margin. Since Republican Party has no powerful candidate to field against him, if the present trend persists Carter's second term in White House is already in his pockets. Naturally, Carter will see to it that tension is maintained at high pitch so that the trend does not change.

In this regard the British President of the International Olympic Committee Lord Killanin aptly observed: "The trouble is that the Olympics and the (US) Presidential elections are taking place in the same year."

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So, thus far Jimmy Carter has made cold war a very paying business for himself and for powers that be in the USA, also their friends and collaborators elsewhere. But at what price !

And how long will the bullish trend in cold war gamble persist for them ? For some time the tremendous propaganda bombast launched jointly by Washington and Peking, also lack of knowledge of the true facts about Afghanistan and Iran world over, helped the axis to create some misunderstanding on the one hand and scare and tension world over on the other. Brinkmanship seemed to be back in full force.

But before long the forces of peace, progress, and freedom, those working for the establishment of a just and equitable world order free of interference, aggression, pressure, blackmail and exploitation, once again asserted themselves world over. The socialist and non-aligned nations and people in those countries whose regimes have chosen to be the camp-followers of the pro-war bloc, have combined their efforts not only to thwart those attempting to spark regional wars and conflicts which could develop into a world war, but also contain the newly unleashed cold war so that the world returns to detente and the path of total and complete disarmament, that leads to banishment of war for ever.

The tide appears to be again turning in favour of peace.

This great pursuit of peace initiative for defusing confrontation over Afghanistan has yet to achieve a solution, but it was at least succeeded in isolating the conflict. On the other hand, the Soviet Union has not only extended full support to Indian efforts, which continue, but launched its own peace offensive, as was evident from the Warsaw Pact nations' latest meeting, which almost synchronised with NATO council meeting.

The attitudes adopted by these two rival meeting and indication given by the two about their decisions crystalised the current international situation. The NATO made it known that it will take a series "tougher military measures" to meet

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the "growing Soviet threat", whereas the Warsaw Pact Council, in whose deliberation President Brezhnev participated personally, gave a clarion call for renewed and reinforced endeavours for defending the peace, restoring detente and reviving disarmament talks. The Warsaw Pact meet suggested convening a world conference at the top level to consider and resolve all such conflicts and problems that threaten the world peace.

The pro-war camp already appears to be on the defensive, and divided within, although the store house of its aggressive tricks is not exhausted. Soon after NATO meet, the new US Secretary of State, Edmund S. Muskie met the USSR Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko at Vienna. This was first face to face top level USSR-USA meeting after the so-called Afghanistan events. The outcome was not divulged but both did agree that more dialogues were possible.

Now Venice Summit of the USA and EEC countries which followed open disagreements between Washington and its West European allies over Iran and Palestine issues has ended in visible differences over Afghanistan also. It is evident that West Europe is neither ready to follow Washington blindly nor submit to its arm twisting.

While the lurking dangers are there, the world at large is hoping and striving for an early end of Second Cold War. The ice may be broken sooner than expected as world sees more clearly through the war mongers' game and their real aims. I am sure that pro-peace and pro-progress camp will ultimately triumph because its cause is just and it enjoys overwhelming support of big majority of the mankind.

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2

Why Carter Burried SALT-II?

"Weapon of war once forged is inevitably used at least once, for good or for evil"

—Hitopadesha.

"We have come to take one more step towards avoiding nuclear conflict which some few might survive but in which no side could win……".

—President Carter in a dinner speech during Vienna Summit.

"In signing this treaty we are helping to defend the most sacred right of the man—right to live".

—Leonid Brezhnev after signing SALT-II at Vienna

IN his latest "State of Union" message to the US Congress (January 21, 1980) President Jimmy Carter made the mention

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of SALT-II treaty twice, which he had signed with President Brezhnev of the USSR at Vienna on June 18, 1979, an event of immense significance that had almost delivered the human race from the fear of nuclear annihilation but which soon felt jilted when ratification by US Congress of the treaty was dilly-dallied.

By the time of the "*State of Union*" message, the US had burried SALT-II fathoms deep. Yet, President Carter tried to make his people and rest of the world believe that the USA had not abandoned the treaty altogether. Perhaps he intends to salvage it when it suits the 'vital interest' of the United States. I am quoting his own words to underline how vital this treaty was for peace loving humanity ; that the USA had gained much out of it and lost nothing. Speaking about five basic goals of his government for 1980, Jimmy Carter said :

> "Our decision to defer, but not abandon our efforts to secure ratification of the SALT-II treaty reflects our firm conviction that the United States has a profound national security interest in the constraints on Soviet nuclear forces which only that treaty can provide."

Then dealing with SALT-II separately and in detail, the U.S. President affirmed .

> "The most prominent of our nuclear arms control effort is of course, SALT-II.
>
> * The signing of the treaty brought to an end pains-taking negotitations carried out under three Administrations of both parties.
>
> * SALT-II is in our mutual interest ; it is neither an American favour to the Soviet Union nor Soviet favour to the United States.
>
> * Ratification of SALT-II.....would represent a major step forward in restraining the continued growth of Soviet strategic forces.
>
> * Because SALT-II reduces superpower competition in its most dangerous manifestation; this treaty is the single most important bilateral accord of the decade :

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* SALT-II will permit us better to maintain strategic equivalence in nuclear weapons and devote our defence increases more heavily to our highest priority needs for conventional force improvements.

* Without it, the Soviets can add more power to their forces and better conceal from us what they are doing.

* Without SALT-II, and the begining of SALT-III, deeper cuts would take many more years to achieve.

* Without SALT-II, our efforts to control the proliferation of nuclear weapons will be more difficult.

* I believe that the Senate will ratify SALT-II because the treaty is, in its simplest terms, in the interest of our nation's security. But I do not believe it advisable at this time to bring up the treaty for consideration on the Senate floor. The Congress and the Executive branch must first deal with the pressing matters arising from the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan."

From this it would appear that the US was forced by the so-called Soviet "intervention" in Afghanistan to postpone the ratification of SALT-II and that the Carter Administration was otherwise very keen to implement the accord. Both these claims are pretentious and belied by irrefutable facts.

As we will see, what happened in the Afghanistan was the result of deliberately contrived plot by Washington-Peking axis and was used not only as the pretext for the final act of dumping SALT-II but also destroying all what had been achieved by painstaking efforts spread over years—the detente and progress towards total disarmament—and for unleashing another cold war.

The truth is that organised efforts to sabotage SALT-II and all what it symbolised were on long before the Treaty was signed on the culimination of Vienna Summit. It was evident then and there that President Carter was affexing his signatures

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rather reluctantly and he knew the reason, also what was cooking behind. Apart from the economic compulsion of keeping colossal American and West European war industry going, there were the secretly finalised NATO plans not to limit but to enlarge and push up strategic armaments, especially in Europe to justify which the myth of tremendous increase in Soviet armed and nuclear prowess had been created.

Mrs. Ursel Lorenzen was for many years the Assistant to the Director of Council Operations of the NATO General Secretariat. She defected to the German Democratic Republic (GDR). On March 8, 1979, long before SALT-II signing, she told GDR Television :

> "I witnessed the inhumanity of war planning, which is in actual fact geared towards a future war, and was unable to reconcile any of this any longer with my basic humanistic attitude. That is the reason I am here now".

When after the Afghanistan misadventure, the US propaganda made a lot of noise to cover up its trail and also blame the USSR for everything, Mrs Lorenzen at an international press conference in Berlin on January 17, 1980 laid threadbare the whole remifications of NATO's aggressive plans, including the medium range nuclear missiles programme for Europe. I am quoting only the most significant part of her testimony relevant to SALT-II :

> "In late autumn 1978, Mr Donald R. Cotter (then Assistant to US Defence Secretary for Atomic Energy) made the following formulations in his notes for a speech :
>
> ".....For an adequate deterrent concept of operations and for an effective forward defence, NATO must acquire the capability for effectively striking enemy forces on Warsaw Pact and Soviet territory. Utilizing both theatre nuclear weapons and modernized conventional forces. NATO should develop the ability to

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> hold all echelons of forces at risk in Eastern Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland and into the Soviet Union. This will necessitate the development of longer range strike systems for NATO nuclear and conventional forces. In addition to enhancing nuclear deterrance, holding these echelons at risk will have another military advantage. Targated continuously by NATO nuclear forces, the Soviets will be forced to disperse their ground forces, which in some cases are now concentrated. Forcing Soviet Pact forces to greater dispersion will enhance the capability of NATO conventional defences. *Thus, theatre nuclear weapons are central to the proposed concept of operations*". (*Italics mine*)

The decision on the production and deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles adopted by the NATO Council in December 1979 is in full agreement with the concept of operations previously outlined. It is not a new plan, as is claimed.

Why did then Jimmy Carter go to Vienna at all and take trouble to sign a treaty which he was already intent upon to follow in violation than implementation ? This only he can explain. Obviously this was a part of a calculated gambit to distract world attention, also a manoeuvre for balancing of forces in US domestic politics or in its international relations. It might have been aimed to put a sort of pressure on Peking which was totally opposed to any sort of understanding with the USSR or progress towards world peace. He might have also expected to squeeze some special concessions from his Soviet counterpart but obviously failed.

President Carter had expressed his reservations in Vienna itself and also raised extreneous issues. Speaking at the dinner given in his honour by President Brezhnev, President Carter significantly said on June 18, 1979 :

> "Any effort by either of our nations to exploit the turbulence that exists in various parts of the world pushes us towards that road (of competition and even confrontation, that he had earlier mentioned). The

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> United States can and will protect its *vital interests* if this becomes the route we must follow".

During his talks with Lenoid Brezhnev, Jimmy Carter made it repeatedly clear that the US *vital interests* were not confined within the borders of that country only but were spread all over the globe, which necessitated the so-called global strategy gambit. Strangely, the US was already busy in fishing in turbulent waters of Afghanistan and waging sneak aggression against the revolutionary government there.

Leonid Brezhnev had correctly anticipated opposition to SALT-II and so, warned against coming difficulties. He told Mr Carter in his dinner speech on June 18, 1979 :

> "A number of serious strategical and geographical factors that so far have remained outside the frame work of our talks will have to be taken into account."

He had China in mind among other factors as also vested interest in the West. Brezhnev made it clear that any demends to amend or water down the provisions of SALT-II will be resisted.

The bogey of "Soviet military threat" was also raised at Vienna; also objection to the Soviet support to the liberation movements and progressive, revolutionary struggles was voiced by Mr. Carter. To this Leonid Brezhnev candidly replied in the speech made at the dinner given in his honour by President Carter. He said :

> "Strange as it may be, the greater the Soviet Union's contribution to the development of peaceful relations among states, the more resolute its sponsorship of concrete proposals on the limitation of armaments and the lessening of the danger of another war, the more persistently are fables concerning our policies spread.
>
> "Attempts are also continuing to portray the social processes taking place in one country or another or the struggle of the peoples for independence and social progress as "Moscow's intrigues and plots".

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> Naturally, the Soviet people are in solidarity with the liberation struggle of the peoples. Our assessment of the political regime in one or another country may sharply differ at times from the assessment of certain quarters in the USA. But the USSR is against interference in the internal affairs of other countries. This is our position of principle. We believe that every people has a right to decide its own destiny. Why then pin on the Soviet Union the responsibility for the objective course of history and, what is more, use this as a pretext for worsening our relations?"

This raises some vital questions :

1. Is there really any Soviet military threat? Does Soviet Union possess more nuclear or conventional arms than are necessary for its and that of Warsaw Treaty nations' defence ?

2. Are the frantic US effort, currently on to raise its military and strategic power, justified?

3. Why Carter turned his back on SALT-II immediately after he returned to Washington and why he failed to get it ratified?

4. Will SALT-II be ever resuscitated ?

For the sake of continuity, I will first deal with the question-3. One reason that prompted Jimmy Carter to go to Vienna and sign SALT-II treaty was that his personal popularity was ebbing fast. A big question mark had risen before his political future; chances of his re-election had dimmed to hopelessness while the stock of his more militant opponent within his own party, Edward Kennedy, was rising fast. Carter had hoped that SALT-II would boost his personal popularity and bloster his image. But the reaction was quite contrary to his expectation. War industry lobby and Pentagon forced him to retreat immediately. There was strong opposition from C.I.A.. He was written off as far as his next term in the White House was concerned. He lost nerve and committed a somersault. As a sop to those powerful elements who came heavily upon

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him, he offered to speed up the installation in Europe of nearly 600 medium range Pershing-II nuclear missiles, with 1500 miles range, which means they can cover almost every part of Western and mid-Soviet Union. These would be besides the long range ICBM missile trained in their hundreds on the Soviet Union from different directions.

This plan meant going totally against the spirit and purpose of SALT-II, still unratified. Ordinarily this highly agressive and dangerous plan should have been more than enough cause for the Soviet Union to turn its back on Jimmy Carter and America. But the Soviet leadership was aware of the odds against the US President. So, while recording legitimate protest, Leonid Brezhnev tried to come to the rescue of his counterpart in Washington, still hoping that domestic difficulties notwithstanding, Jimmy Carter was really keen to promote peace and disarmament.

In his famous Berlin speech on October 6, 1979, on the 30th Anniversary of GDR, Brezhnev affirmed :

> "As Chairman of the Defence Council of the USSR, I am most definitely stating that the number of medium-range carriers of nuclear arms on the territory of the European part of the Soviet Union has not been increased by a single missiles, by a single plane during the past ten years. On the contrary, the number of launchers of medium range missiles and also the yield of the nuclear charges of these missiles have even been somewhat decreased. The number of medium-range bombers, too, has diminished. As to the territory of other states, the Soviet Union does not deploy such means there at all. It is already for a number of years that we are not increasing the number of our troops stationed in Central Europe as well."

Then Brezhnev made the following offer in case the USA gave up its pernicious plan for installing such a large number of nuclear missiles :

> "We are prepared to reduce the number of medium range nuclear means deployed in Western areas of the

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Soviet Union as compared to the present level but, of course, only in the event if no additional medium range nuclear means are deployed in Western Europe.

"The Soviet Union will never use nuclear arms against those states that renounce the production and acquisition of such arms and do not have them on their territory.

"We are prepared to reach agreement that notification about big exercises of ground forces, provided for by the Helsinki Final Act, be made even earlier and not from the level of 25,000 men, as is the case now, but from a smaller one, for instance, from the level of 20,000 men. We are also prepared, on the basis of reciprocity, not to conduct military exercises involving more than 40-50 thousand men.

"We continue to regard a European conference held on the political level as the most suitable place for discussing a broad complex of measures of military detente in Europe. It is a very pressing and, it can be said, a ripe time to prepare and convene such a conference.

"Lying ahead, as is known, are also important talks on SALT-III. We are for commencing them immediately after the entry into force of the SALT-II treaty. Within the frame work of these talks we agree to discuss the possibilities of limiting not only inter-continental but also other types of armaments, but with due account, of course, for all related factors and strict observance of the principle of equal security of the sides."

In the same speech President Brezhnev announced the decision of unilateral withdrawal of 20,000 Soviet troops and 1,000 tanks from GDR, and hoped that USA will reciprocate this gesture. Despite mounting world tension, the USSR has carried out this decision but the USA instead of reciprocating, only mocked at it. Jimmy Carter never kept his promise to consider this offer but went ahead more vigorously with his nuclear plan for Europe.

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The European public opinion strongly reacted against this plan. Most Governments were reluctant to go along with it, as they could not shut their eyes to the fatal danger of retaliation it would provoke. It took a number of trips to West European capitals by the then Secretary of States Cyrus Vance, Defence Secretary Harold Brown and National Security Advisor Brzezinski before NATO council was finally "persuaded" to adopt it in mid-December (1979) meeting in disregard of all consequences. The apprehensive public opinion was fed up with fantastic propaganda about growing military strength and threat of the Soviet Union. They were also told : "We will first arm, talk with Soviet Union form a position of strength and then disarm along with Soviets". But not all were convinced. Chancellor Schimdt of West Germany pooh poohed this theory. The Dutch Parliament rejected the nuclear plan. There were protest demonstrations in many parts of West Europe but news about them were suppressed or underplayed.

Typical of the propaganda were the stories published in 'TIME' Magazine about this Soviet Military threat. This takes us to first of the questions posed above. Before I quote from 'TIME' stories let us see if there was any substance and justification in much paraded Soviet military threat.

The Soviet Union is also a big country and a big power, bigger than even the United States in size and population (Area-8,662,400 sq miles and population according to the last census 216,200,000, against the United States area of 3,615,222 sq miles and population of 179,323,175). From the point of view of defence, the Soviet Union faces many times more threat than the USA does because of geographical and other factors. The United States is situated thousand of miles away from the zones of traditional conflict. On its two sides are big oceans. In the north and south it is bounded by very friendly nations. With Canada it has open border. In both world wars it remained safe from any attack; land, naval or aerial. Of course, now it can be attacked with nuclear missiles. It is, however, too much alarmed by the existence of Socialist Cuba on its periphery and tried everything including an invasion to destroy it.

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The USSR on the other hand is surrounded on the three sides by hostile powers. Its thousands of miles long borders are live as well as vulnerable. Apart from West Europe's NATO bloc in the west and Japan in the east, it has to reckon the other big power, China (military strength wise third biggest in the world) which has turned highly inimical and relentlessly hostile to the USSR and wants to destory it. The Americans know fully well what kind of enemy Chinese rulers are and what kind of military power they possess. And since these former sworn enemies of each other, the USA and People's Republic of China are now close collaborators in the global strategic gambit and allies against the Soviet Union, it means grave escalation in the threat to the very existence of the Soviet Union.

While the USA as a nation may not share total and unremitting hostility of China against the Soviet Union, it goes without saying that there is a large number of influential and powerful Americans who are not reconciled to the peaceful co-existence with the Soviet Union and still cherish the hope that they will be able to destory the socialist state. They have been encouraged by Maoist China turning hostile against USSR. Their dream to make the two "communist giants" fight each other is nearly fulfilled.

In this context, the legitimate defence needs of the Soviet Union are at least twice that of the USA. But even American strategists have not claimed that the Soviet military strength—conventional or nuclear—is anything like that. And even if the Soviet Union develops such a potential, which will actually never happen nor will Soviet leaders go for such a gamble, even then the Soviet Union will not gain supremacy over the combined strength of the USA, China and all their allies.

What is the actual position currently. Let me quote Western sources themselves :

The London International Institute of Strategic Studies has published a report (Military Balance 1978-79) devoted to the study of the balance of forces between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty countries, according to which the NATO is not threat-

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ened by any military aggression by the Warsaw Treaty. The *London Observer* noted that such a conclusion was drawn for the first time in the 16 years since such reports have been published. The *London Economist*, which studied the same problem, comes to the conclusion that a balance has been reached in the correlation of forces of the two military blocs. The journal predicts that by the mid-1980s the 'Soviet military machine' will slow down its speed, while that of NATO will be speeded up.

The report prepared by the National Executive Committee of the British Labour Party studies the same problem, but on a considerably wider scale. The authors of the document feel that the apprehensions about the USSR military superiority over the West are "groundless". The report asserts that the atmosphere of fear is fanned by the circles who are interested in stepping up military spending and in the arms race.

Even the US Defence Secretary, Harold Brown had said that "those who speak of the advantage of the USSR, not mentioning our own advantages create a wrong understanding that might have unpleasant and even dangerous consequences."

Now let me quote NATO's secret documents themselves to disprove the myth of the Soviet military threat. Mrs Lorenzen, the former NATO functionary, already referred above, said in her Berlin press conference :

> "About 1974, experts from a number of NATO states were charged with assessing the relationship of forces between NATO and the Warsaw Pact for the period reaching into the 1980s. The so-called East-West study elaborated for this purpose was intended to furnish proof that a 'Soviet threat' does exist and could serve as an excuse for stepping up armament within the framework of the Long Term Defence Programme. The East-West Study was approved at the session of the 1978 NATO summit in Washington and some sections of it were published. Other parts of the study, which in no way tally with the thesis of a 'threat from East' and would not be an excuse for the

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so-called 'modernization' effort on the part of NATO, were deliberately withheld from the public."

Then she quoted some parts of the suppressed report. I have selected three samples :

> "It is the view of the NATO military authorities that after the bilateral negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union, the strategic balance is now well struck, and indeed, subject to continuing possibility of maintaining adequate parity while at the same time reducing expenditure on such weapons systems.....
>
> ".....the continued all-round growth and development of Soviet military strength, which Soviet leaders are likely to consider necessary in order to enable their armed forces to fill the defence and foreign policy roles assigned to them.....No major changes are expected in the structure and organization of the armed forces. Their manpower strength is also estimated to remain fairly constant.....
>
> "There seems little doubt that a major concern of Soviet foreign policies will continue to be the attempt to develope a special relationship with the United States and to avoid direct confrontation, irrespective of fluctuations in detente."

Let me give some samples of American propaganda when the nuclear plan for Europe was being vigorously pushed up.

The 'TIME' carried the first page story in its issue dated October 29, 1979 (International Edition) entitled "What Price Power". It speaks about SALT hearing before Senate Committee in which "both expert witness and Senators" have been expressing grave concern about the state of the nation's military strength. "Armed with volumes of facts and statistic, they convinced a growing number of citizens that the US can no longer afford to postpone tough and costly defense decisions if it intends to remain a superpower. As a result, a consensus has been emerging that favour a stronger US military establish-

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ment, something that would have seemed impossible only a few years ago."

The 'TIME' added :

> "A key participant in the mounting debate is the officer who must plead the Pentagon's case, the top ranking man among the nation's generals and admirals and the only military personage who can carry his arguments directly into the President's Oval office. He is David C. Jones, 58, the cool, persuasive Air Force general who serves as ninth Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. In an interview with 'TIME' Pentagon Correspondent Don Sider, Jones stressed that he is more worried about US security today than when he became the chairman 15 months ago. Because of the "continued military buildup by the Soviet Union," he says, there is a "need for us to do more." Fully in agreement is Jones' civilian boss at the Pentagon, Secretary of Defense Harold Brown : "The gap between US and Soviet defense expenditure cannot continue to expand without dangerous tilt in the relevant balances of power and a weakening of overall US deterrent."

The 'TIME' then quoted Senator Barry Goldwater the former Republican candidate for Presidency, saying, "The US is no longer the No-1 military country in the world. Rated, it is No-2 and not a very good No-2". Then the 'TIME' story discusses the proposition of increasing US defence spending by 3 or 5 per cent annually.

It says :

> "Even the lower 3% figure means billions of extra dollars in military costs at a time when the White House has been struggling to trim the estimated $29 billion federal budget deficit in order to fight inflation. The defense outlay for fiscal year, 1980, which began on Oct.I, will be about $122 billions. Simply to maintain this level for the next fiscal year compensating only for an estimated inflation rate of 10%, the Pentagon would need an extra $12.2 billion. A 3% hike, after infla-

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tion, would require spending $4 billions over that; a 5% real boost would mean yet an additional $2.6 billions outlay.

"Other critics charge that a nation in which 25 million citizens are classified as living below the official poverty line can ill afford huge increase in military spendings. The $2 billions to $3 billions required to build one new nuclear carrier, says Democratic Representative Patricia Schroeder of Colorado, could support 1,000 New York schools for a year. The $4.3 billion needed to build 860 miles of track for proposed MX missiles could finance all the nation's mass transit systems for two years. Even the $60 million used to build one C-5A transport plane could feed 12,000 families of four for a year. Somewhat more cautiously, Senator Edward Kennedy, who now supports an increase in defense spending, has warned against asking "the poor, the black, the sick, the young, and the unemployed to bear a dis-proportionate share".

The Magazine claims that due to inflation and other erosions, the ratio of U.S. defence expenditure came down from 10.5% of GNP (58.1 per cent of Federal Budget) in 1955 to 4.9 per cent of GNP (23 per cent of Federal Budget) in 1979. It was further eroded by heavy increase in energy cost. As against this, the Soviet defense expenditure was 11 to 13 per cent of GNP of that country. Defense Secretary Harold Brown has claimed that in the past decade the USSR spent 100 billion dollars more than USA on defense.

The US claim about the Soviet nuclear prowess according to 'TIME' is :

"The Soviets deploy more land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles than the US (1,400 vs. 1054), and more submarine missile-launching tubes (950 vs. 656). By 1985 they could nearly close completely the current U.S. lead in strategic nuclear warheads (9,200 vs. 5,000). The only remaining category of clear-cut U.S. strategic superiority is the manned bomber; the advan-

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tage is 348 vs. 150, but the aircraft providing this lead are almost all aging B-52s, some of which date back to 1956."

In case of conventional forces, the 'TIME' quotes US Under Secretary for Defence William Perry as saying :

> "The Soviets are out producing us by 2 to 1 or more in most categories of military equipment (land) and deploying military equipment that is no longer inferior in quality. The USSR leads the US in total military manpower (3,658,000 vs. 2,022,000), tanks (50,000 vs. 10,500), artillery (40,700 vs. 18,000), tactical warplanes (4,350 vs. 4,164) and major warships (523 vs. 260). The main American advantages are missiles and the ability to deploy forces rapidly into distant areas with aircraft carriers, Marine Corps units and airborne forces."

Then the 'TIME' tells us :

> To counter Moscow's buildup, the US is already modernizing its forces with new weapons systems, ranging from the Trident nuclear-missile, submarine, to the Patriot anti-aircraft missile. But much more will probably be required, and at a quicker pace. The Administration has just taken an important step in this area by approving a $33 billion, ten year programme for the MX ICBM. The movable MX is theoretically invulnerable to surprise attack, so when the Pentagon starts deploying the first of these missiles in Utah and Nevada in 1986, the window of vulnerability will begin closing. The US has also been moving ahead with the $4.4 billion air-launched cruise missile programme; the 1980 budget provides $90 million for it. Under the current time table, the first cruise missiles are to be deployed at the end of 1981 and would probably be launched from converted B-52s."

According to 'TIME' another step to increase the US strategic capability, "a proposal by Air Force Chief of Staff, Lew Allen Jr., is to radically upgrade 155 of his F-111s. A major

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part of his plan : extending the fuselages of 66 of the FB-111 fighter-bombers 104 inches and installing the General Electric engines that were designed originally for the cancelled B-1 bomber. This would enable these FB-111s to fly into the USSR faster (at 740 m.p.h., vs 450 for the B-52) and more safely at low altitudes. The FB-111 would be more difficult for the Soviets to detect, in the part because it shows up as a smaller radar image than the B-52. What might prevent Allen's project from taking off is its price tag: $6 billion."

More certain of deployment is the Pershing II nuclear missile a $1.5 billion weapons system that occupies a gray area in analysts' calculations of the strategic balance.

The "TIME" does not deliberately give exact figures of the Soviet defence expenditure but quotes Defence Secretary Brown saying that the Soviet spending were one fifth to two fifth more than US spending and blames the difficulty to convert roubles into dollars. He has not given figures in rouble either.

The official text of President Carter's State of the Union Message has invoked the 'increasing Soviet military threat' to justify the aggressive US postures and proposed big hike in defense budget, but nowhere has he also given a single fact or figure to prove his allegation about the Soviet military might.

According to the Tass :

> "USSR spending on defence is 17.4 billion roubles or $24 billion. In comparison to that NATO countries military expense has gone up by almost 25 billion dollars in last four years. The recent years witnessed a decline in the percentage share of defence expenditures in the Soviet budget : it was 11.1% of the budget in 1971, 10.3% in 1972, 9.9% of the budget in 1973, 9.1% in 1974, 8.4% in 1975 and 7.8% in 1976. The absolute figures have also decreased."

A GDR publication "Political Detente and Arms Race", has proved how the West has been giving out absolutely wrong and exaggerated figures about the Soviet military expenditure.

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"We may take two examples to show how such calculations come about. The share of arms expenditure in the Gross National Product of the USSR is, so it is said, significantly higher than in the USA. What is not mentioned, however, is that Gross National Product in the USA and in the USSR are two completely different concepts. In the Soviet Union the value of the newely created material goods is described as the Gross National Product. In the USA, on the other hand, the concept of Gross National Product includes the market value not only of all the goods produced, but also of all services. Consequently this indicator is considerably higher in the USA and the proportion accounted for the armaments expenditures seems to be correspondingly lower. Second example : The CIA asserted that the USSR's defence expenditure was about three times higher than the figures officially given. This "finding" was reached by arbitrarily calculating the prices of Soviet weapons in dollars and then equally arbitrarily valuing the rouble in relation to the dollars at an unrealistically low level. In 1976 the CIA altered the ratio it had itself invented by doubling the value of the dollar in relation to the rouble. In this way, of course, one can "prove" anything."

So, while for solid reasons, given already, the Soviet Union will be justified to spend more than the USA on need-based defence, it was spending very mueh less. It has to be remembered that the economy of Soviet Union and other socialist countries is not dependent upon arms industry. They have no tycoons and their profit hunger to satisfy. They have no unemployment problem; instead, they have manpower problem. The socialist economy derives its strength and stability from maximum welfare and peaceful development programmes that improve the lot of the workers and peasants. The interests of such economy are best served by reduced defence expenditure and providing more peaceful productive investment also more expenditure on social welfare. If the Soviet Union were a war monger why would it seek disarmament and peaceful relations with all countries including USA and China ? The Maoist

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leaders of China fell foul with the Soviet Union for one reason because it worked for peace and reconciliation and refused to join them in world domination design.

It was not the Soviet Union which scuttled SALT-II but the United States, and in this as also for nuclear missiles plan for Europe, it won prompt support and applause from Peking. To boost the missile plan, Hua Guofeng himself visited West European capitals, and all he did apart from seeking Western arms, was to pour venom against the Soviet Union.

As to the question, will SALT-II be resusictated, I am very optimistic about that, but this process will take its own time. The humanity is progressing towards peace and disarmament, many set-backs notwithstandings. SALT-II is an important step in that direction. It has been halted no doubt, but will proceed ahead again, sooner or later. The march of the humanity to its goal of peace can not be stopped for long; its indomitable will assert itself. Sooner than the latter the common people to the USA and Western countries would see through the game of their rulers. That will help to remove the impediment. History shows that enemies of peace have always been defeated. They will be vanquished once again.

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3

Issues And Stakes In Afghanistan

"But the arrogation by Washington of some sort of "right" to "reward" or "punish" independent sovereign states raised a question of principle. In effect these actions of the US Government deal below at the established system of international law governing the relations between the states."

—Leonid Brezhnev in a statement to Tass

"We must not forget that before the Soviet troops came in, there was already foreign intervention in Afghanistan—the two issues cannot be divorced from each other..."

—Indira Gandhi speaking to pressmen at Ahmedabad

"Islam does not approve of feudal order. No muslim should own more land than he can till and cultivate."

—Barbak Karmal

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THE so-called Afghanistan problem, wholly and solely is the creation of Washington-Peking axis which had been engaged in un-declared war against Revolutionary Afghanistan one and a half year before the Soviet troops were sent at the request of Afghan Government to assist it to defend and preserve the sovereignty and independence of the country. The problem shall be there at least in the propaganda carried on by these powers who have created it till either they do not suffer a total defeat in the whole zone or the 'problem' does not lose all its utility for them.

The Second Cold War, as Robert Kennedy has described the current surcharged international situation, did not begin with the so-called happenings in Afghanistan towards the close of the year 1979, but earlier and in different areas of the world. Afghanistan, was of course, used to inflame a smouldering situation. The signing of SALT-II treaty, shocked war mongers in China and America. To destory the strengthened detente, Peking invaded Vietnam, while the American war mongers and war industry tycoons forced President Carter to come out with the plan for planting 600 Pershing II nuclear missiles in Europe. But the brave Vietnamese foiled the Peking manoeuvre to occupy their country and forced it to declare ceasefire, while nuclear missile plan did not provoke the USSR to retaliation. So, very serious trouble was engineered in Afghanistan.

But this Afghan problem was no sudden development. The plot to capture the country was cooking from the very day when Saur Revolution (April 17, 1978) triumphed. There had been revolutions and coups before also, but this one shocked the Washington-Peking axis and feudal reaction everywhere out of their wits. Even earlier revolutions and changes in Afghanistan were not to the liking of imperialism and its lackeys because these did not produce the results they wanted : placing Afghanistan in the lap of imperialism. Nevertheless, they tolerated them, while always alleging that the Soviet Union was behind them.

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The first major coup of historical consequence after the overthrow of Amir Amanullah and installation of Nadir Shahi dynasty on Kabul throne, was the one organised by Sardar Daoud Khan in July 1973. It was bourgeois change-over, aimed actually to fool the people and preserve the vested interests of the higher echelons from being obliterated by developing revolutionary movement. Sardar Daoud was a close relative (brother-in-law) of the deposed, King Zahir Shah. He continued to do under the facade of a republic what he used to do as the Prime Minister under the monarchy. The people of Afghanistan soon realised that they had been duped. Indeed, Daoud regime proved more corrupt and repressive than even the former monarchial regime. This was at the best a palace revolution, in which one set of courtiers deprived another of power and privilege, and concentrated them entirely in its own hands. To deceive the people "Republic" label was adopted in place of monarchy. With every passing day the plight of people became worse as corruption and the loot by the ruling class increased.

The progressive forces representing the working class and the peasantry have been active in Afghanistan since long. The feudal and exploiter classes were naturally afraid of them and tried their best to suppress them. Islam essentially is a democratic and revolutionary creed. It does not recognise monarchy and is totally opposed to any kind of exploitation of man by man. President Babrak Karmal has pointed out, as per Quranic sanction, nobody must own land beyond what he can himself till. Yet, these tyrants and exploiters would brand progressive elements struggling for the oppressed and the exploited as "infidels" and invoke religious wrath against them. However, that did not prevent the progressive elements to grow strong enough to attempt a successful revolution in due course, because their cause was just and masses supported them.

Unfortunately, progressive elements working for a socialist order were divided in two factions. One was called 'Parcham' and other "Khalaq." About fifteen years back they united to form the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA)

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which got a visionary leader of consummate skill in Noor Mohammed Taraki, who was an intellectual of high standing. The party had generally supported the overthrow of monarchy and emergence of the republican system as a change for good. But when it became evident that change of 1973 was a power coup and not a revolution and also the new regime was as much despotic, anti-people and corrupt as the previous one, the people had to take to the path of struggle under PDPA.

Within less than five years, the PDPA was able to bring about the glorious Saur Revolution on April 17,1978 to the jubilation of the working masses of Afghanistan and elsewhere and to the consternation and dismay of reactionary, feudal and capitalist exploiters everywhere. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan was established, the old order yielding place to the new. Noor Mohammed Taraki, the Father of Revolutionary Afghanistan, himself an offspring of a poor peasant family of Ghazni, was chosen the President of the Republic, Chairman of the Revolutionary Council as also of the National Defence Council. By virtue of his being the Head of the State, he also became the Supreme Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces.

Naturally, the Saur Revolution brought about by the mass struggle, turned sour the mouths of exploiter class and all vested interests including the affluent Mullah clergy, especially when the new revolutionary Government enforced radical land reforms in the right earnest. Some of these Mullahs and feudal lords owned hundreds and thousands of acres of land and other huge assets, all illgotten. So, as in case of Amir Amanullah, these bigoted and fanatic exploiters branded the revolutionaries as communists and infidels, and declared Jehad against them. As could be expected, they got active support from obscurant elements and exploiters especially in Pakistan and Iran, and out of their hiatus against the Soviet Union, the ruling circles of the USA and China soon got not only interested but deeply involved in the dirty game to destroy Afghan Revolution and dominate this strategically very important country on which the imperialism always had greedy eyes.

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At this stage it would be very relevant to have a glimpse into the recent history of Afghanistan, also its relations with its immediate big neighbour, the Soviet Union to understand in the correct historical perspective the cause of the present trouble and its implications.

Afghanistan is a land locked country, which once bore the name of "Aryana", (Land of Aryans) which is sandwitched between Himalayas and Hindu Kush. The country has a hoary past and was craddle of many civilisations. Sometimes better part of Afghanistan was a part of Indian Empire, like that of Kushans (during Knishka's reign) and Mughals. For nearly one and a half century, large parts of India formed part of the Afghan empire, although the empire built by Ghoris was not subservient to Kabul. Their seat of power was Delhi itself. The historical, cultural and other relations between India and Afghanistan have been so close that we can never be unmindful of what happens there. The strategical importance of Afghanistan is our concern too. Till 1947, India and Afghanistan had long common border. Now Pakistan has come in between, but that does not minimise its importance for us.

The rise of the British power in India caused decline to Afghanistan also. It was rendered remote, backward and isolated. The fear of British imperialism in the East and Tzarist imperialism from the North, which made Afghans apprehensive of "Firangis", added to the remoteness of Afghanistan, and local feudal lords and Mullahs exploited this for their own benefit. Because of its backwardness and isolation, the country became another *Shangri-La.*

Afghanistan has an area of 2,50,000 square miles. Its present population is estimated at about 18 million. But that is a rough guess, because no proper census was ever undertaken. Indeed, first modern facilities like radio and telegraph were introduced with the Soviet help.

Even now Afghanistan is predominantly illiterate. Modern education has a recent origin. The elimination of illiteracy is the first major problem for the revolutionary regime, apart

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from eliminating all vestiges of feudalism and exploitation. Pushto is the national language, and the second important language is Dari (Afghan Persian). Most population belongs to Hanafi (Sunni) sect but there are also Shia minorities, the feudal class of which is now being exploited by Iran for counter revolution.

Both Tzarist Russia and the British imperialism had coveted eyes on Afghanistan. They also feared each other. The British fear was that Tzar might invade and occupy Afghanistan and then threaten their Indian possessions. The Tzarist fear was that the British after occupying Afghanistan may advance ahead and try to take Southern parts of its empire. Finally, the Tzar succumbed, realising his weakness, and by the Treaty of 1907 conceded a sort of British overlordship on Afghanistan, granting it the "right" to conduct foreign relations of the Afghan Kingdom. Meanwhile, in the first two Afghan wars the British had conquered large parts of Afghan territory beyond Attock, to create North Western Frontier Province (NWFP) and also create a vast no-man's land beyond Khyber, which was known as independent tribal belt and which is inhabited by warlike and fiercely patriotic Pakhtoon tribals, who never ceased war against the British. What was left of the Kabul Kingdom virtually accepted British suzerainty, though nominally the country was independent.

The Great October Revolution had an electrifying effect on the Afghans and their brothers across the Khyber who got the name of Pathans. The call by Lenin to the toiling Muslims of the East in the spring of 1918 "to throw age old invaders", was well received by Afghan people as by other subjugated peoples. Along with other unequal and imposed treaties signed by the Tzars, the Soviet Russia also cancelled the Anglo-Russia Convent of 1907 which had recognized Britain's right to control the foreign relations of Afghanistan. Instead, the Soviet Government recognized sovereign and independent Afghanistan. This was preceded by the declaration of full independence by King Amanullah, on February 28, 1919, which "rejected any foreign authority" over Afghanistan. This was followed by a succession of events which underlined

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Lenin's and that of the Soviet Goverement's sincere interest in the freedom and sovereignty of Afghanistan.

On April 7,1919, the Afghan Amir sent a message to the leaders of Soviet state in which he emphasized : "You have undertaken the worthy and noble task of promoting peace and the good of man, and proclaimed the principles of freedom and equality for the countries and peoples of the whole world." The King of Afghanistan wrote that he was glad to send for the first time, "on behalf of the Afghan people who were striving for progress," to Lenin and his comrades-in-arms a friendly message from independent and free Afghanistan.

On May 27, 1919, Lenin and Kalinin, the first Soviet President, sent a message of greetings to the Afghan people and agreed to the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic and independent Afghanistan.

The message was of great moral and political importance for Afghanistan, on which Britain had declared war on May 6, 1919 and to whose territory it had sent troops from British India. Not only did a 60,000 strong army of Afghan patriots successfully held out against a 3,40,000-strong British army, but it won this war, the third against the British in the Afghan struggle for freedom and independence. On August 8, 1919, Britain was compelled to sign the Rawalpindi Treaty, recognising the political independence of Afghanistan. The day when the treaty was ratified, August 19, 1919, became Afghanistan's Independence Day. It may be noted that the offensive mounted by Red Army in Turkistan greatly helped Afghan side as it frustrated the movement of British troops in Trans Caspian. Soon, the first representative of People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the RSFSR, N.Z. Bravin arrived in Kabul.

On October 10, 1919, the train carrying the Afghan mission arrived at Moscow's bedecked Kazan Railway Station, and was warmly received. Four days later, Lenin welcomed the Afghan representatives with these words : "I am very glad to see in the Red Capital of the worker-peasant state, the representatives

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of the friendly Afghan nation, which is fighting against the yoke of imperialism." In reply, the head of the Afghan mission said : "I extend to you the hand of friendship and hope that you will help the entire East to liberate itself from the yoke of European imperialism."

In February 1920, after the Afghan mission had returned home, the Government of Afghanistan sent to the Soviet Government a note thanking it for its attention and friendly attitude. On February 28, 1921 the plenipotentiaries of the two states signed a treaty in Moscow "aimed at consolidating the friendly relationship and mutual sympathies which for two years now have been developing and strengthening between Afghanistan and Russia..."

As early as May, 1920, the Afghan government had submitted a proposal on concluding a military and trade treaty. Soviet Russia, aware of the difficulties confronting Afghanistan, responded to this proposal without delay. In September, 1920 the text of a preliminary treaty was initiated in Kabul, and on February 28, 1921 it was signed in Moscow.

But Britain still did not give up her attempt to bring Afghanistan back into the sphere of influence of her colonialist policy. Even after Russia and Afghanistan had initiated the preliminary treaty, the British authorities did all they could to prevent the signing of the treaty. The British emissaries made more and more demands infringing on Afghanistan's sovereignty, with the intent of undermining Soviet-Afghan relations. In January, 1921, British Ambassador in Kabul, Sir Henry Dobbs presented a British draft treaty whose main purport was annulling the Soviet-Afghan treaty. The "magnanimous" Government of Great Britain agreed to allow Afghanistan to maintain only the trade relations with Soviet Russia.

In August, 1921, after a nationwide discussion on the two draft treaties with Russia and Britain, the *Loya Jirgh*, the Grand Assembly of the country, announced its decision against the British treaty.

"The Soviet Russian Government and the High State of Afghanistan," Lenin noted, "have common interests in the

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East ; both states value their independence and want to see each other and all the Eastern nations free and independent. The two states are brought together not only by the above-mentioned circumstances, but particularly by the fact that between Afghanistan and Russia there are no issues capable of causing differences between them or even of casting a shadow on Russian-Afghan friendship."

On August 31, 1926, in the small town of Paghman near Kabul, Soviet and Afghan representatives signed a Treaty of Neutrality and Mutual Non-Aggression, which came to be known as the Paghman Pact. "The peoples of the Soviet Union," said the Chairman of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, Mikhail Kalinin," regard the Paghman Pact as a powerful factor in consolidating Soviet-Afghan friendship and promoting peace in Central Asia, and as a new expression of the permanent friendship, uniting the peoples of the Soviet Union with the peoples of the East."

These words were matched with concrete deeds on the part of the Soviet Union, for example, the transfer in 1926 to the Afghan state of Urta-tugai island on River Amu Darya.

The following treaty, signed in 1931, in Kabul, was a continuation of the Paghman Pact, and reflected the desire of the Afghan people to further strengthen the cordial relations with its northern neighbour. It contained a number of explicit clauses concerning the principles of peaceful coexistence. In it the two sides agreed, for example, if "any disputes or conflicts that may arise between them, whatever their nature or origin, these should be settled by peaceful means only."

During this period, King Amanullah introduced many reforms, also modern system of education to improve the lot of people and bring new life and awakening to the sleeping nation. This gave the much needed opportunity to the feudal lords within and their imperialist patrons outside to provoke the ignorant people. The Amir was branded as Kafir (infidel) and Russian agent. Mullahs came out in Jehad against the King who followed the tenets of Islam better than these exploiters. He had also his supporters but fearing that

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confrontation would lead to bloodshed and civil war, he chose to abdicate and went into exile. In his place Zahir Shah occupied the throne.

Treating all these changes as the internal affairs of Afghanistan and keeping succinctly aloof from them, the Soviet Union continued its friendly relations with Afghanistan. Even Zahir Shah soon recognized that the Soviet Union was a sincere friend of Afghanistan and, thus, Soviet-Afghan relations continued to grow.

An agreement was signed in 1946,, which altered, by the wish of the Afghan side, the state frontier along the rivers Amu Darya and Panj. The alteration was of considerable economic importance to Afghanistan and provided fresh confirmation of the Leninist policy aimed at respecting interests of small nations. It resulted in Afghanistan assuming possession of several islands and the population having the right to use the waters of the Amu Darya and Panj rivers for irrigation, navigation and fishing.

In 1947-48 demarcation and redemarcation of the Soviet-Afghan frontier was carried out along the whole of its length of 2,384 kilometers. After the signing of an agreement on frontier questions and carrying out of all the work involved on the frontier, all the matters relating to the fixing of the state frontier between the two countries were conclusively settled. Thus, owing to a mutual desire to find a common language, owing to goodwill and mutual understanding, a problem which till this day remains most acute for many states of the world was amicably solved by the Soviet Union and Afghanistan.

From the very outset, the Soviet Union has been providing selfless assistance for the economic development of Afghanistan, something which Western powers seldom do. In 1920, the first radio station was given and installed by Soviet Russia as gift for which Afghan technicians were trained in Tashkent. In 1923, the Soviet Union helped Afghanistan to build a modern weather station in Herat.

Between 1924 and 1928, Soviet and Afghan builders put up telephone and telegraph lines stretching from the frontier

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point of Kushka and linking the capital of Afghanistan with the major provincial centres of Herat, Kandahar and Mazar-i-Sharif. In November 1927, an agreement was signed between the two neighbouring countries on the establishment of direct air communication between Tashkent and Kabul. In the 1930s, the Soviet Union helped to build a number of cotton-cleaning plants in Northern Afghanistan, and in 1938, the largest cotton-cleaning plant of those days, with a capacity of 10,000 tons of cotton fibre a year, was built in Kunduz.

Invaluable help in the field of agriculture was rendered by the Soviet Union to Afghanistan in the 1940s. Afghan farmers had long been suffering from plague of locusts. The Soviet Union came to the help of the Afghan people. Beginning from 1933 it equipped several special anti-locust expeditions with airplanes and chemicals and other agents. Three years later this most dreaded scourge was destroyed. The two countries have since been cooperating in the pest control.

In the 1950s and 1960s, a whole series of agreements were concluded between the USSR and Afghanistan on the rendering of technical and economic aid to Afghanistan. They provided for the construction of many industrial, agricultural and other projects, which are today the pride of the Afghan people.

The net-work of modern asphalt roads in Kabul and around, also other towns, the large scale mechanised bakery in Kabul, the engineering plant of Jangalak which produces a wide range of goods from automotive parts to household goods, the Kabul House Building Plant, the Naghlu hydro power station and its 100 metre high dam on Kabul river, the Kabul International Airport, the Jalalabad Canal along with its modern headworks which turned the valley of despair into flourishing orchards and green fields, the Ghaziabad and Halda state farms, the Mangarhar Irrigation system, the massive Shibirghar gas projects with a capacity of 30,000 million cubic feet gas production, the modern oil refinery first in Afghanistan now under construction, the major fertilizer plant at Mazar-i-Sharif, the Kabul Polytechnic Institute, the Oil Industry School at Mazar-i-Sharif and half a dozen major

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national highways are included in over 150 major economic assistance projcts of the USSR in Afghanistan. These projects raised Afghanistan from a backward medieval state to the status of a developing nation. This economic cooperation is matched by a flourishing but balanced trade between the two countries, which has multiplied many times in last two decades.

When Sardar Daoud toppled King Zahir Shah, the change also did not affect the course of normal development of the Soviet-Afghan relations, because the Soviet Union never meddled in the internal politics of Afghanistan. Ignoring overtures and pressures from the West, Daoud also like the deposed King maintained and further cultivated the cooperation with the Soviet Union and followed nonaligned policy.

The progressive and pro-people character of the Saur Revolution provided additional pretext to the Western propaganda to hold the Soviet Union responsible for any change in Afghanistan. Of course, the changes were for good, but these were brought about by the progressive forces of the country itself, in which Moscow had no hand. Naturally, the Soviet Union could not help to be sympathetic. The Western propagandists deliberately ignored the fact that the process of historical change can not be stopped. There will be revolutions in all such countries where ruling regimes turn despotic, corrupt and oppressive. The USA has been, especially since last war, opposing, any radical changes anywhere.

The US ruling circles are intolerant and hostile to revolutions of socialist character. So, they not only condemned the Saur Revolution of Afghanistan as "Soviet engineered" and "Russian take-over", but also as in case of Cuba, Ethopia, Angola and Mozambique, launched concentrated and desperate moves in a bid to destroy the Afghan revolution. And in this, apart from "sympathies" of its West European and other allies, Washington had an active collaborator in the chauvinists rulers of Peking, to whom every good deed of the Soviet Union is anathema, and every country friendly to the Soviet Union is an enemy.

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The Revolutionary Government of Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, headed by Noor Mohammed Taraki had to succeed where Daoud regime had failed. The Saur revolution was committed to the people and had to fulfill the promises made to them. The country had to be redeemed from the oppressive feudal exploitation, backwardness and extreme poverty of its people. Hence, the first major step taken by Taraki Government was the enforcement of extensive land reforms. Over a million acre of land was taken away from big absentee land lords and distributed among landless serfs. The tenants were protected and given more share in the produce, the product of their toil. Interest rates were lowered ; mal-practices and exploitation of the poor by rich Mullahs were curbed. The rich Muslim clergy formed a better part of the landed class and it also felt pinched. The result was the resistance by these vested interests to the popular reforms. Their resort to force had to be met by force. Since they could not stand against the revolutionary forces so they began to migrate to Pakistan, where the agents of imperialism and reaction were waiting for them eagerly to use them for their own designs.

The able bodied among these so-called refugees were trained by Chinese and Pakistani military instructors. Some U.S. military advisers were also secretly involved. These counter-revolutionary guerillas were joined by larger than their own numbers of Pathan tribals of Pakistani citizenship including a large number of ex-military personnel. This mercenary component of the forces invading Afghanistan from Pakistan is hard to distinguish, because the Afghans and Pathans belong to same stock, speak the same language and follow the same culture, but it is much larger than the Afghans themselves.

All the stories about gun manufacturing shops springing up in the border areas of Pakistan and selling the product at fabulous prices is but window dressing to cover up large scale supply of modern arms to these aggressive forces by America, China and Pakistan. The U.S. press has admitted that apart from large scale Chinese supplies, the counter-revolutionary bandits and their Pakistani mercenary collaborators were supplied with American acquired stocks of Russian made arms.

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This was the part of the ruse to show that the "rebels" had captured the Soviet arms which they were now using against the Soviet and Afghan armed forces.

According to the Western press reports, the sneak aggression by the counter revolutionary and mercenary forces trained and armed by Washington and Peking personnel began within a couple of months after the emergence of Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, following the success of Saur Revolution; that is one and a half year before the so-called "Soviet intervention". But strangely, the world took scant notice of this undeclared war backed by two big powers against a small country.

All this aggressive insurrection, however, did not go beyond sporadic attacks here and there, especially in border areas, where hit and run tactics were employed. All the stories emanating from Pakistan capital about the occupation of many provinces, by the "rebels", and their "victories" in pitched battles and killing of imaginary Soviet advisers were all concocted propaganda to boost the morale of misguided and captivated refugees and their supporters and patrons, also to defame the Soviet Union and the Afghan revolution.

The fact of the matter is that the number of real Afghan "refugees", in Pakistan is much less than 50,000 and only half of them are capable of combatant action. They have been joined on the eastern side by about 50,000 or more Pakistani merceneries. Pakistan claim about the presence of 5,00,000 to 7,00,000 refugees is highly exaggerated. The actual number may be just half of the Pak claims, and these include about 2,50,000 nomads who used to cross every year into Pakistani area for grazing their cattle but were held back at gun point last time and better part of their cattle have also been taken away.

These nomads and most of other refugees, those who were enticed by their landlord masters and rich Mullahs, want to return, but are being forcibly held back by Pakistan. There have been firings on them twice, already. These "rebel" group numbering about 20, according to Islamabad reports, have

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separate H.Q's., housed in anything from palatial buildings to tents and in the outskirts of Peshawar. They are engaged more in internecinal hostility than in crusade against Afghan revolution. Many of the "pitched battles" reported in Islamabad propaganda might have been fought between warring groups of these counter revolutionaries. In Peshawar itself there have been assassinations and attempts to assassinate. Recently, the H.Q. of one of the main "rebel" groups, a two storey building and an adjacent building were blown up in a big bomb explosion, killing 20 persons. The very fact that C.I.A. had to organise a putsch within Kabul in which Hafeezullah Amin was to be their main prop. has proved that counter-revolution and sneak aggression had failed to achieve the imperialist objective in Afghanistan. If the sneak aggresston had been such a success as was claimed in Islamabad and Peshawar propaganda, Afghanistan should have been in the hands of fanatics and displaced landlords long before even Amin had to organise bloody coup and murder of Noor Mohammad Taraki. It was actually during the brief rule of Amin that sneak aggression made some progress, because on the secret direction from his C.I.A. masters, while posing as a fireband Marxist though actually he was the imperialist agent, Amin reduced the resistance to the sneak aggression to minimal, let the invaders advance in some directions and caused demoralisation among Afghan armed forces by the brutal murder of their leaders and by some other treacherous acts.

If Amin had not tried to subvert the Afghan revolution, caused division in the revolutionary ranks, killed or imprisoned all the known opponents, Revolutionary Afghanistan would have liquidated the counter revolution and foreign inspired aggression long ago.

Unlike Taraki, who came from a poor peasant family and worked his way into the revolutionary struggle, Amin was scion of a rich family who was educated and conditioned in the USA. His C.I.A. links dated back to his student days in America. Enough evidence has been collected in this regard. But he was a capable actor, and by histrionics won a prominent place in the revolutionary movement. He was also

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an ambitious man. Although the two factions of revolutionaries named after two newspapers that Taraki had launched and edited during the days of struggle—Khalaq (Masses) and Parcham (Flag) had merged their identities and forgot all differences, once Peoples Democratic Party of Afghanistan was formed, after the success of Saur Revolution, Amin began his splitter game. Even though he was given second important post, that of the Prime Minister under President Taraki and a full say in the policy making and governance, Amin began his secret plotting. He again created differences between Khalaqis and Parchamists. He also engineered clanish hostility among different tribes.

Long before Amin staged the bloody coup against Taraki, the CIA, regional H.Q. had been moved from Iran to Karachi (Pakistan) where in June 1979 arrived the notorious C.I.A. agent, Louis Dupree, who had been expelled from Kabul in November 1979 for espionage. It was he who organised the new phase of aggression against Afghanistan, in anticipation of the take-over by Amin.

Amin struck two months later, prepared for the coup when Taraki had gone to Havana to attend Nonaligned Nations Summit and returned via Moscow. Amin had obviously mustered the support of affluent military officers, and also men from clans supporting him. He struck only after Taraki's return, and in the dead of the night, because he was intent to liquidate Taraki and all the latter's supporters physically so that they could create no more trouble for him. President Taraki, his family members and colleagues were murdered in cold blood. Some managed to flee including Babrak Karmal.

For reasons better known to him, Amin divided his plot in two phases. After toppling and killing Taraki and his supporters, Amin pretended to be more radical and extremist marxist. The Western propaganda pinned this coup also on Moscow. But it was soon obvious that Washington and Peking were not at all perturbed at these events. Amin obviously wanted, while posing as ultra Marxist, to liquidate all his opponents gradually and also let the invaders from Pakistan

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occupy better part of the country, besides fully control the Afghan army by liquidating those whose loyalty he suspected. Under such circumstances Amin's total walk over to imperialism and 'reconciliation' with the invaders from Pakistan, was phased out so as to reduce the chances of the failure of the plot.

Strangely, Amin himself had repeatedly requested for the despatch of Soviet troops to Afghanistan but refused to go himself to Moscow even after being invited. According to the *Times of India* correspondent, who visited Kabul after C.I.A. plot was smashed, Amin not only refused to go to Moscow, but "was reported to have accepted the American offer to resume aid" ("*Times of India*" February 9, 1980). Apparently, Amin's request for Soviet troops was a ruse either to keep Moscow mollified or a bid to entrap a contingent of Soviet troops in what would have followed if the December 28, 1979 plot had succeeded. This would have justified his calling for U.S. armed intervention.

The Amin headed C.I.A. putsch was fixed for the night of December 28, 1979 and perhaps it was to synchronise with the U.S. invasion on Iran. But the Afghan revolutionaries got the wind of the plot at the eleventh hour and they made their successful pre-emptive counter attack. Amin was forced out before he could hand over Afghanistan to C.I.A. and call in his foreign masters, also order massacre of the opponents and thus, push the country into a bloody civil war. The new revolutionary Government called for Soviet armed assistance because of three reasons :

Firstly, the very real danger of US armed intervention and timely arrival of Soviet troops not only saved Afghanistan but also Iran from U.S. invasion.

Secondly, danger of big escalation in invasion from Pakistan.

Thirdly, danger of civil war because of the dissensions that Amin had created in the armed forces of Afghanistan.

The frenzied reaction that the failure of Amin-C.I.A. plot produced in Washington, was itself indicative that Carter

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Government had pinned so much on its success, but considering all the risks involved, it was ready to exploit the failure also to its own advantage. Forgetting the ignoble American role in Vietnam, Kampuchea, Laos, Korea, Chile and in many parts of Africa; President Carter in self-righteous indignation did everything short of declaring a war against the Soviet Union. He recalled his Ambassador in Moscow, stopped the export of technology and foodgrains, and decided boycott Moscow Olympics. He knew well enough that these cheap stunts would be counter-productive. He has yet to justify the American and his partners' (the Chinese) role in clandestine aggression on Afghanistan. The curt denials of the U.S. and Chinese involvement in the sneak aggression on Afghanistan have convinced nobody. The U.S. press has acknowledged it.

Can President Carter deny that after Louis Dupree took over as C.I.A. Chief in Karachi, large U.S. shipments of arms for Afghan counter revolutionaries and mercenaries were sent and unloaded at Karachi? And did not his Chief Aide, Brzezinski himself promise all out help to these counter revolutionaries? Whatever the Soviet Union did, it did openly, and informed all the countries with which it has diplomatic relations immediately about the despatch of a limited number of Soviet troops to Kabul. It made it clear that it did so much against its will and because of very compelling reasons, and assured that the Soviet troops would be withdrawn as soon as the real foreign intervention ended in that country. The Soviet action is entirely defensive against what President Brezhnev described on January 13, 1980, as "undeclared war of the imperialists against revolutionary Afghanistan."

In this interview Brezhnev rightly posed the question: Why in Washington they were mourning Amin, while they kept quiet when Amin murdered Taraki and so many others? Leonid Berzhnev candidly went on to say:

> "Unceasing armed intervention and the well-advanced plot by the external forces of reaction posed a real threat to Afghanistan's independence and created the possibility of making it an imperialist military brigade-head on our country's southern border. In other

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words, the time came when we could not but respond to the request of the government of friendly Afghanistan. Acting otherwise would have meant leaving Afghanistan a prey to imperialism, allowing the aggressive forces to repeat in that country what they had succeeded in doing, for instance, in Chile, where the people's freedom was drowned in blood. Acting otherwise would. have meant passively watching the creation on our southern border of a source of serious danger to the security of the Soviet state.

"When making the request to us, Afghanistan proceeded from the clear-cut provisions of the Treaty of Friendship, Good-neighbourliness and Cooperation concluded by Afghanistan and the USSR in December, 1978; from the right of each state, in accordance with the United Nations Charter, to individual or collective self-defence, a right that other states have exercised many times.

"It was no easy decision for us to send Soviet military contingents to Afghanistan. But the Party's Central Committee and the Soviet Government acted in full awareness of their responsibility and took into account all the relevant circumstances. The only task of the Soviet contingents is to assist the Afghans in repulsing the aggression from outside. They will all be withdrawn from Afghanistan once the reasons for the Afghan leadership's request for them disappear."

It has to be noted, because it is the crux of the so-called Afghan problem as also wider international conflict, that while the Soviet troops were despatched to Kabul on the repeated and bonafide request of Afghan Government, under the provisions of Soviet-Afghan Treaty and in accordance with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, the sneak Sino-US Pakistan aggression against Afghanistan is against the all canons of International Law and behaviour.

President Carter has yet to answer the following pertinent questions :

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1—When he opposed the so-called Soviet intervention in Afghanistan as something unpardonable, how does he justify more crude and illegal Sino-U.S. and Pak intervention in the same country ?

2—Why is not he prepared to stop and withdraw this sneak aggression to facilitate the withdrawal of the Soviet troops ?

The only amazing explanation given by Carter Administration was that while Soviet intervention in a Warsaw Pact country could be understood, it was unforgivable if carried out in a nonaligned country. An American commentator, Herman Nickel has exposed the fallacy of this argument, as also "watershed" theory of the then US Foreign Secretary, Cyrus Vance in these words : "This was a distinction more likely to impress lawyers than diplomats and historians. Why ? Because the Americans had been told that Afghanistan had ceased to be neutral buffer state ever since Communist radicals siezed power in April 1978." (*Fortune*, Feb. 25, 1980).

The question now arises what does the future hold for Afghanistan and how is this going to effect the rest of the world. The latter question arises because the USA has tried to drag every country in to this trouble and that another big power, China is the active partner in all what the USA has done in this region.

Apart from other "punitive" measues taken by Washington against the Soviet Union, (you can call them self-punishment measures considering losses being suffered by US farmers and grain exporters and also Coca-Cola Corporation which had gained big contract to serve soft drinks during the Moscow Olympic) President Carter shelved the ratification of SALT-II treaty, put the detente in cold storage, and tried to provoke an 'Islamic Jehad' against the Soviet Union by forcing his puppets in Pakistan to organise an Islamic Nations Conference. To create scare among these nations, Mr. Carter and his aides had predicted immediate advance of the Soviet troops into Pakistan and Iran, and later into Persian Gulf zone. One of the most fantastic lies concocted by Washington is that the

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Soviet Union wants to occupy Iran and Persian Gulf Zone as to get their oil exclusively and free. Only insane people will believe in anything like this. Yet, Carter's Defence Secretary Harold Brown threatened nuclear war in case the Soviet Union advanced further south towards Gulf zone. To "prove" it meant business, Pentagon has moved 37 or more major warships and a task force of 1,10,000 near this zone in Indian Ocean. Now, the happenings in Iran and other developments indicate the possibility that war mongers were playing with the idea of doing themselves what they have been attributing to the Soviet Union.

Moscow has succinctly maintained the position it adopted on December 27, 1979.

> That stationing of a limited number of Soviet troops was a defensive measure and these will be withdrawn as soon as Afghan Government says so, (According to 'TIME' Magazine the British Embassy in Moscow called Soviet action as "defencive aggression").
>
> That it has no intention, whatsoever, to push its way either into Pakistan or Iran or Persian Gulf. Indeed Moscow told Britain and West European nations that they could ensure oil supplies for themselves from West Asia by cooperating with the Soviet Union in preserving peace in this zone; that Afghanistan was free to decide its own course and shape its own future. No amount of pressure and no black-mail would force the Soviet Union to succumb on this stance and make any deal behind the back of the Government of Afghanistan and without its participation and approval.

Now, after seven months of the failure of C.I.A. plot in Afghanistan, we see that all the bluff, bluster, bullying, boycotts by US Administration have proved counter-productive. Washington has gained nothing out of these antics. It is also conceded that it was impossible for Washington to turn the clock back in Afghanistan. American press and political pundits themselves acknowledge that the USA has lost the gamble. Will it try something new or reconcile to the inevitable, has yet to be

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seen. So far, it has not made search for any face saving device, but that is because Mr. Carter has yet to fight the Presidential election. But the ball is entirely in American court. It is for Washington to decide whether it seeks peace and reconcillation or goes for further escalation.

On the second count, the Soviet Union stands vindicated. It has stood by its word and instead of pushing its way into Pakistan, Iran or Persian Gulf, it has repeatedly reassured that it sought friendship and cooperation with all these neighbours. To Iran it has provided assistance to face Western economic blockade.

The very fact that after making much noise about the need of immediately arming Pakistan, "to meet Russian invasion", President Carter has deferred even "peanuts" aid to Pakistan, tantamounts to the admission by Washington that there never was any threat to Pakistan and it had only raised a false alarm to malign the Soviet Union. In case of Iran, the threat of American invasion once appeared imminent. Washington had to postpone the invasion for the second time, after commando aerial attack proved abortive. But now for obvious reasons the US seems to have given up the idea of use of force against Iran.

As far Afghanistan itself is concerned, the position of Revolutionary Government headed by Babrak Karmal has become more stable, as situation in the country has improved. The organised attacks by counter-revolutionaries and Pak mercenaries have almost ceased. There now happen only sporadic guerrilla raids. The counter-revolutionary camp is more divided and demoralised than ever before.

The statement issued by the Soviet Government through *Tass* in reply to Mr. Carter's telecast of January 4, had made it clear that :

> "Every responsible and sober minded politician is aware that it is the Afghan people alone, and nobody else, who have the right to determine what path the internal development shall take in Afghanistan and how the

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country shall build its relations with other States. But the US Administration takes a different view. The President's speech shows that the US Administration is trying to deny this right to the Afghan people and to grossly interfere in Afghanistan's internal affairs. This is also the aim pursued by the USA in raising the so-called question of the situation in Afghanistan in the UN Security Council. To raise this question is untenable and contradicts the clearly expressed will of the people and government of the sovereign state of Afghanistan.

So, as far as the Soviet Union and all those who support it are concerned, if US and those supporting it want to reconcile to the inevitable, they will have to recognise the present Government of Afghanistan, negotiate with Babrak Karmal, on all issues they may like to raise including the return of the Soviet troops.

As far the Government of DRA is concerned, it has sought the path of peace and reconciliation and renewed its faith in non-alignment and fraternity of Islamic nations. It has supported Iranian revolution and the cause of PLO. In his address to the nation on December 27, 1979 itself, when he assumed the Presidentship of the Republic, Babrak Karmal announced :

1—Proclaim the release of all political prisoners who have survived the hatchet of Hafizullah Amin, and abolish execution under favourable conditions.

2—Abolish all anti-democratic and anti-human regulations and ban all arrests, incarcerations, arbitrary persecutions, house searches and inquisitions.

3—Respect the sacred principles of Islam, freedom of conscience, belief and religious practices, protect family unity, observe the principle of legal, lawful, just and private ownership void of oppressive exploitation, embezzlement, bribery, usury, hoarding and smuggling.

4—Revive individual and collective security and immunity, revolutionary tranquillity, peace and order in the country.

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5—Ensure healthy conditions conducive to democratic freedoms such as the freedom to form progressive and patriotic parties and mass or social organisations, freedom of the press, of demonstrations and street manifestations, ensure the right to work and get educated ; ensure the freedom and immunity of correspondence and communications, travel and immunity of domicile.

6—Pay serious attention to and help the younger generations—school pupils, university students—and the intelligentsia without discrimination.

7—Execute the later stages of democratic land reforms, abolish the remnants of the obsolete feudal relationships, and the domination of foreign traders and imperialistic monopoly agencies; expand the public sector in various economic spheres; guide, encourage and protect the artisans, land owners, small and medium traders and nationalise capital; democratize the foundation of political and social life and the government apparatus, protect fraternal nationalities and tribes in Afghanistan.

President Babrak also offered generous treatment and full rehabilitation to those who have left the country out of misunderstanding and wanted to come back and work for new Afghanistan. He also offered peace and friendship to Pakistan. The latest proposal for joint talks among Afghanistan Iran and Pakistan was made by DRA in the third week of May, 1980, but it was rejected by Pakistan.

Despite continued aggressive attacks and provocations by counter-revolutionaries and their patrons, Babrak Karmal Government is resolutely following its declared policy befitting the traditions of freedom loving Afghanistan. And that is the secret of its growing stability and consolidation. It is working for historical change to progress and justice for all. It is struggling for a just cause of true democracy. Its ultimate victory is a foregone conclusion.

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The enemies of Afghanistan, who are also enemies of peace, will either accept the defeat and submit to the inevitable or mount new mischiefs. But Revolutionary Afghanistan is now ready to meet any challenge very effectively.

One clarification is essential before I close the chapter. I have mentioned about Mullahs' role in trying to forment unrest and also their alliance with counter-revolutionaries and Pak mercenaries. By these I mean only the minority of affluent and land owning Muslim clergy, who has been hit by the land reforms. The large majority of poor clergy is totally opposed to them and is whole heartedly supporting the revolution, which has improved their lot and social status. They rightly feel that the revolution is in accordance with the true spirit of Islam which champions the cause of down trodden and condemns the exploiters.

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4

Pakistan : Pawn Or Prey ?

"If you set the house of your neighbour aflame, your own more likely might catch the fire and be totally charred to dust"

—Old Kashmiri saying

"Pakistan is more a child of enemity and conspiracy than history. The evils might devour if it does not get rid them before it is too late"

—Jawaharlal Nehru

"Even when facts are available, more people seem to prefer the legend, and refuse to believe the truth when it in any way dislodges the myth"

—John Mason Brown

THIS author had the occasion of discussing Pakistan with the late Jawaharlal Nehru during an off the record chat. It was then that Nehru remarked what I have quoted above. He

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said this not out of spite, but out of earnest desire to see our closest neighbour to thrive and prosper in peace.

Panditji had further said that as far as India was concerned, Pakistan was an accomplished fact as a sovereign and independent nation. According to Maulana Azad, Sardar Patel who was accused of having leanings towards Hindu communalism and was labelled as 'Akhand Hindustan' supporter, was the first to agree to partition demand. Even former protagonists of 'Akhand Hindustan' would not entertain any idea for reunification of the sub-continent even if Pakistan itself (then there was no Bangladesh) made a voluntary offer of the same. All that India was concerned about was to have a friendly, peaceful, stable and really free Pakistan on her borders—free of any malevolent external influences.

At present also India follows the same policy towards Pakistan and in future also she can follow no other policy than this one. Many dispassionate people in India, however, fear that Pakistan may go down because of its own folly. Already it has lost its eastern wing, not because of India or any other country, but because of its own impudence and the tyranny of its rulers. Most Pakistanis have finally conceded this. But it appears that the present rulers of Pakistan have not learnt any lesson from this big loss which they themselves inflicted on their country.

The honest acceptance of Pakistan as an absolute and permanent sovereign entity by India and other nations, however, does not alter the fact that Pakistan was the product of 'divide and rule' policy of our erstwhile alien rulers, and conspiracy between them and some communal Muslim leaders of erstwhile British India ; that this conspiracy was fed with the enemity and hatred that was bred by the British among Muslim against Hindus and vice versa as a part of calculated policy ; that on the criteria the existence of Pakistan was unreal.

The Pakistan Resolution of M.A. Jinnah's Muslim League had envisaged totally independent and democratic state, but Pakistan has never enjoyed full sovereignty or full freedom. From the very outset, the country became a pawn in the

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hands of Western powers, and it was for that very purpose the British had contrived its seperate existence. The two-nations theory of Jinnah translated into reality the basic objective of 'divide and rule' policy of the British. Having realised that they could not rule over India for ever or for long, they decided to dismember it, lest it emerged as a stronger power than the British Empire itself. Apart from creating Pakistan as to retain their foot-hold and military bases in the subcontinent, they had expected to turn at least some major former princely Indian states like Hyderabad, Kashmir, Rajput states and Mysore into independent sovereign states under their subtle tutelage.

However, all they could create was what Jinnah described as "truncated" Pakistan, divided in two parts with over 1,200 miles of Indian territory seperating them. Apart from that, it did not take long to the rulers of Pakistan and their British patrons to realise that Pakistan was an economic impossibility. There were too serious inherent contradictions in it. The Bengalis of East Pakistan had nothing in common with West Pakistan. There was strife in Western wing also. Pakhtoons and Baluchis were never reconciled to Pakistan.

So, as to ensure survival of Pakistan and its continued dependence on the West, especially the British, also to further imperialist designs in South-East Asia, it was decided to use the same "hate Hindus and fight Hindu India" Mantra, as to keep the people of Pakistan perpetually in a state of tension. Even before Pakistan came into existence, the driving out of non-Muslims from territories marked for the new Islamic State began in utter violation of the solemn aggreement for creating sovereign and independent states of India and Pakistan on the condition of protection of minorities in both domains. Even Jinnah found himself helpless.

And after only less than two months of coming into existence Pakistan opened its score of aggressions by invading Jammu & Kashmir. It was British Commander-in-Chief of newly created Pakistan Army, Field Marshal Auckinlake who goaded Jinnah to this disastrous adventure, which deprived

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Pakistan of better part of the state, which it perhaps might have got if it had shown patience. Since then the Kashmir issue has plagued Indo-Pak relations.

As a result of losses suffered during the Second World War and loss of empire, Britain was forced to accept a secondary status for itself under the USA. It could no more take the care of Pakistan baby and so threw it in the lap of Uncle Sam, who was only too willing to oblige.

It was about that time that the cold war was gaining momentum. At the time both the Soviet Union and People's China were enemies number one of the West and, not only was the encirclement policy being pursued vigorously under Truman doctrine but also, Dulles had declared war on nonalignment, branding it immoral. The strategic position of Pakistan was too tempting for Washington to ignore it. The country could be used as a base against both the Soviet Union and China. Besides, in respect of Indian sub-continent Washington let itself to be entirely guided by White Hall.

Truman and Dulles were sore against Nehru. So, Washington encouraged the Pak rulers in their anti-India Jehad more than even the British. Apart from extending Pakistan all out blind support at the UN in respect of Kashmir issue, Washington poured massive arms and cash aid into Pakistan with the deliberate intent to harm India by first arresting its democratic economic development and then launching proxy aggression against it. Pakistan would never have been able to use US arms against India if Washington had really meant the assurance it had given to New Delhi, only to draw wool on its eyes.

I need not repeat the well-known story of Indo-Pak relations after Pindi (now Islamabad) became a puppet of Washington and was made a member of two US sponsored military blocs: Bhagdad Pact (CENTO after Iraqi Revolution) in West Asia and the now defunct SEATO in South-East Asia. I may, however, make mention of four facts :

First : Apart from supporting Pakistan aggression on the Indian State of Jammu & Kashmir, in and outside the UN,

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and hatching many conspiracies aimed to snatch the coveted state from India to give it to Pakistan, Washington supported both Pakistani aggressions against India, both of which were carried out with US arms, tanks, planes and submarines. Instead of preventing the use of US arms against India, as was promised, the US imposed sanctions on India, like cutting economic aid and stopping export of any strategic material. In 1971 war, President Nixon sent atomic powered naval ship *Enterprise* to Bay of Bengal to threaten India. Earlier, he cold shouldered Mrs. Indira Gandhi's visit to him and her earnest plea to solve Bangladesh refugee problem and avert the war. It has been a universally acknowledged fact that it was again Pakistan which launched pre-emptive aerial, naval and land aggression against India in 1971 also.

Secondly, all fair minded and liberal American, notably Dean Acheson, John Kennedy, and Chester Bowles had opposed arming Pakistan against India. Typical is the comment of the American author Edwin O. Reischaner in "*Beyond Vietnam*" :

> "India and Pakistan made a good case in point (abuse of US aid). Their armament against each other constitutes a tragic misuse of the resources of the area. I doubt that outsiders can force on them a settlement of the emotion charged Kashmir issue—reduction by India and Pakistan of investment in armies and weapons would perhaps be the greatest economic boon we could bring to their countries."

I need hardly mention that India has been forced into arms race which she would have avoided if she could, and that investments in arms and armies in Pakistan have to the extent of ninety per cent been American.

Thirdly, after becoming a part of American "free world" Pakistan lost whatever little democracy it had. With the exception of earlier Liaquat Ali regime and brief break under Bhutto. Pakistan has been under one or the other military dictatorship since the day the country became a U.S. satellite, and it has never had a single free election and fair adult franchise.

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Fourthly, every ruler of Pakistan, when confronted by the real and pressing problems of the people, took recourse to Jehad against India as to turn people's attention from their pressing needs, and every time this 'hate India' campaign received both endorsement and support from Washington.

To keep the fire of hatred burning against India in the minds of people of Pakistan, they have been constantly fed with the propaganda that India was not reconciled to the existence of Pakistan and would inevitably devour it as and when the opportunity offered itself. So, not only should Pakistan be constantly prepared to fight India but even though in size and population it was just about one tenth of India, it should maintain military strength equal to India's ; also do all to weaken India by harming it in various ways.

In this, the ruling circles of America supported Pakistani rulers and a section of the U.S. press have been publishing fantastic stories to back anti-India propaganda and Jehad of Pakistan. The American policy has always been to equate India and Pakistan, also to equate aggressor with the victim of aggression. Washington believes more than even Islamabad that Pakistan should at least maintain equal military strength to that of India. Knowing well that Pakistan can not afford this, it still insists because that keeps Pakistan perpetually dependent upon the USA. The Americans simply pooh pooh the argument that India also has, apart from Pakistan, to reckon bigger danger from a hostile China.

Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger added "tilt" in favour of Pakistan and against India. By the time the Sino-US collusion had become an accomplished fact and Washington was encouraging Peking in every way to intervene militarily in support of Pakistan over Bangladesh issue, Kissinger himself told the Indian Ambassador L.K. Jha in those crucial days : "If India became involved in war with Pakistan and there is the Chinese intervention, New Delhi should not expect the USA to bale it out..." But Chinese proved more shrewd. They knew India was not friendless. If they "intervened", the Soviet Union would not remain a silent spectator. So, when Chinese intervention did not materialise, Nixon resorted to 'gun-boat' black-

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mail to keep Pakistan in good humour. According to US columnist James Reston, Nixon "sided with Pakistan in recent war at least to avoid a split with Peking on this issue. Nixon sent atomic powered and armed carrier '*Enterprise*' to Bay of Bengal within shooting distance of Calcutta, at the height of 1971 Indo-Pakistan war."

The fact of the matter is that both 1965 and 1971 Pakistan aggressions on India were American proxy exercises. It was Pentagon which inspired and directed these invasions on India in which American trained and armed Pak troops were used as canon fodder. On both occasions the Pentagon strategy was based on its firm belief that massive Pakistani armoured forces would make an easy break-through into Indian Punjab and Rajasthan, and reach Delhi in no time. In 1971 the invasion was proceeded by Israeli type pre-emptive air strike on India. But on the both occasions the puppets failed their Pentagon patrons when comparatively "inferiorly" armed Indian army not only successfully held the massive onslaught on the border itself but smashed deep into Pakistan territory, breaking extremely formidable fortifications. At both times India fought only war of attrition to smash Pakistan's American-made war machine, and so, avoided unnecessary occupation of land. Yet, at both times Washington raised hue and cry that India was about to annex the whole of Pakistan.

Perhaps the US would have directly struck on India, but Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation put breaks on it.

The hidden U.S. hand in Pakistan's aggressions on India was exposed by no less person than US Ambassador in India, Kenneth Keatings who told Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi in October 1971. "If India did not cease aid to dissidents in East Pakistan, Pakistan would attack (India) from the West."

I have recalled all these pieces of significant evidence to show how Pakistan was conceived as a part of imperialist plan to maintain a bastion of power in South Asia, how it was torn out of India by fomenting hatred between Hindus and Muslims,

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and how its unreal existence was secured by turning it into enemy number one of India.

And this is what the greatest 'defender' of Pakistan and advocate of its 'hate India' mentality, Kissinger himself had to say about the conception of Pakistan. In his recently published memoir, *The White House Years*, the former US Secretary of State writes :

> "India had been brought into being by leaders of an indigenous independence movement while Pakistan had been formed by British collaborators which, as soon as it became "independent", proceeded to imprison the authenic fighters for independence. Pakistan was a jerry-built structure held together by its hatred for India, which was being stoked by each new generation of Pakistani leaders. Conditions in East Pakistan reflected tendencies applicable to all of Pakistan. Neither Baluchistan nor the North West Frontier properly belonged to Pakistan ; they too wanted and deserved greater autonomy ; they should never have been part of the original settlement."

Pakistan has been used by the West as a pawn and spring-board for aggression, subversion and espionage not only against India but other near and distant neighbours too. The US had built a big aerial spy base at Peshawar from where spy flights were carried over the USSR and China, before Pindi-Peking axis did not emerge as a reality. Ironically, it was this collusion which paved way for creating Washington-Peking axis.

Antagonism between Pakistan and Afghanistan is as old as Pakistan itself. Afghanistan even when it was a feudal monarchy and with hundred per cent Muslim population had not relished the emergence of Pakistan on its borders because it knew that the new state was the handi-work of imperialists of whom the freedom loving Afghans had bitter experience, and because it meant enslavement of Pukhtoons and Baluchis whom Afghanistan always and actively supported in their demand for either independent or at least autonomous Pukhtoonistan.

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This should explain why President Carter while reacting to the so-called Soviet "intervention" in Afghanistan (actually he was lamenting the failure of C I A putsch in Kabul) not only immediately remembered Pakistan but also expressing "grave concern" over Pakistan's security and, apprehending "Soviet troops pushing their way into Pakistan", announced as a part of the "punitive" measures, military and economic aid to Pakistan to bloster its "defences". From these utterances of the US President and what he later did, it was obvious that Pakistan was very much in the whole game. Of course Carter could not forget that Pakistan was being used as the base for massive guerilla aggression against revolutionary Afghanistan to which it also provided considerable manpower. When he "apprehanded" Soviet attack on Pakistan, Carter only betrayed his guilty conscience arising out of persistent use of Pak territory for aggressive actions against its neighbours. He could not ignore the simple logic that if Pakistan permitted the use of its territory for pursuing big power aggressive designs against the Soviet Union and other neighbours; unabetted in such aggression, the latter had every right to retaliate against Pakistan.

Immediately after offering open and massive military aid to Pakistan, President Carter set in motion hectic activity in this regard. Missions were despatched to Pakistan and finally Carter's chief aide, Brzezinski visited Pakistan, who was preceded by Defence Secretary Harold Brown. Both of them promised aid to Afghan counter-revolutionaries and Pak merceneries helping them. These moves were made for getting emergency sanction from the Congress for arms aid to Pakistan. Carter announced creation of "Save Pakistan Consortium" to collect matching or more arms aid for Pakistan from China, NATO countries and some petro-dollars rich Arab regimes.

Finally, the other sinster parts of plot were revealed. First ; getting military bases and rights of passage of troops from Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Oman and Kenya, to ensure quick despatch of U.S. armed might to Persian Gulf zone and Pakistan, "should the need arise". Second ; stationing in

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Pakistan of US land, naval and air forces, beginning with contigent of B-52 bombers, which carry nuclear bombs.

This is how 'TIME' dated January 14, 1980 described the scene :

> "The Administration began moving rapidly last week to improve relations with Pakistan, even before Carter announced his determination to assist the country. The White House congressional liaison staff met with leaders on Capitol Hill to work out a possible budget request to provide military aid to Pakistan. It was clear that such aid would no longer be blocked by issue of Pakistan's atomic potential. Said an Administration official : "Our concern about (nuclear) nonproliferation is being overwhelmed by the threat to the future of Pakistan and the subcontinent."

Meanwhile, the stratagem for turning Pakistan into biggest fort of imperialism in the East has undergone tactical change. It, however, does not mean that the basic objective has been changed. The antics of rejecting "peanuts" aid by General Zia, the military dictator of Pakistan, and "postponement" of the aid plan by Washington is nothing but a ruse to camouflage the real designs and lull countries like India into complacency, and also deceive non-aligned nations, especially those which have been critical of the Soviet action in Afghanistan for want of proper understanding.

The facts of matter are :

Pakistan has been constantly receiving substantial supplies of American arms secretly and Chinese arms openly (via Karkuruam Highway) also "purchasing" more substantial quantities by the use of freely available petro-dollar and other funds. A portion of these arms has been and continues to be supplied to those waging aggression against Afghanistan from Pakistan soil. Without this arms flow there would have been no war in Afghanistan.

Now, President Carter thinks it more prudent that Pakistan should be provided all the required arms by proxy. So,

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supplies through China, and West Europe have been augmented and 'purchases' increased, which include purchase of French Mirage jet planes. Open U. S. arms aid will come only at appropriate time and in limited quantities, but that will not change the basic decision or extent of commitment made to Pakistan. Three reasons may be behind the strategy. (1) Strong protests by India and unfavourable reaction of nonaligned nations against re-arming Pakistan. (2) Warning administered by the Soviet Union on Pakistan against the turning itself into base for Sino-US military adventures. (3) Shaky position of Zia regime.

Islamabad continues to deny that it has a hand in aggression launched from Pakistan soil on Afghanistan. It denies that it has supplied arms or men to the counter-revolutionaries. But now pressmen of many countries including India and the West have visited the aggression bases in N.W.F.P. and seen for themselves, the aggressive forces armed with modern Chinese and American weapons. Their number is estimated at 1,50,000. Where have all these arms come from ? It must be costing at least 10 to 15 million rupees daily to carry on the war. Where is all the money coming from. Certainly machine guns and dollars don't grow out of the rugged mountains of Afghanistan.

Earlier, the U.S. Government was also denying its involvement in the sneak aggression on Afghanistan. As late as February 28, 1980, the Pakistan delegate in the Disarmament Committee told its Geneva meeting : "No operations are being mounted from Pakistan against Afghanistan...There is no Chinese or US presence in Pakistan other than normal diplomatic—and commercial representations". The same assertion has been repeatedly made by Gen. Zia himself. But not only has the U.S. press widely contradicted this but even the Carter Administration conceded in the secret Congressional hearings that "U.S. arms had reached the rebels".

There is now no denial of the fact that involvement of the USA, China, and Pakistan in aggression against Afghanistan is too deep and too substantial to be ignored, and that Zia regime is ready to turn Pakistan into a collection of big American

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bases, if the right price is offered. Apart from big price, Zia has been demanding a military treaty with the U.S.A. All this is justified on the pretentious plea that Pakistan is exposed to grave threat. This is something which now even most of Pakistanis don't believe. But they are unable to assert themselves, being as they are subjugated by a ruthless military dictatorship.

All the three neighbours of Pakistan, on whom accusing fingers are pointed, have been trying their best to dissuade Pakistan from carrying on its pernicious attitude of hostility. The USSR did not blame Pakistan for US spy flights from Peshawar. It extended economic aid and did all to befriend Pakistan. Moscow always tried not only to develop best relation with Pakistan but also help to normalise Indo-Pak relations. While the USA pushed Pakistan into launching of aggression on India in 1965 after providing it with all wherewithals for the same, the USSR helped to bring about Tashkent Accord between the belligerents after the ceasefire. Moscow also helped to pave way for Simla Agreement signed by Mrs. Indira Gandhi and the late Mr. Z.A. Bhutto.

Even Kissinger had to admit that if India wanted to devour or destroy Pakistan it could have done so easily by carrying on war for a few days more in Western wing after liberating Bangladesh. But India stopped war unilaterly and immediately, and pulled out its troops from both Pakistan and Bangladesh within least possible time.

As regard Afghanistan, it has a problem with Pakistan but it has always shown its readiness to arrive at an amicable and peaceful solution of the same and be at the friendliest terms with its eastern neighbour. The problem would have been solved long ago with Pakhtoonistan remaining a part of Pakistan, but for external provocation. All what Pakistan had to do was to stop violent repression and let the people of the region enjoy internal autonomy. That is what Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan had demanded. What would have satisfied him would have satisfied Kabul also, as it has no territorial designs.

Even after the current crisis of Afghanistan blew up in full, in which Zia regime openly sided with the Washington-

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Peking axis. Moscow, New Delhi and Kabul have been making repeated efforts to make Pakistan to see the reason, persuade it to give up the policy of hostility, refuse to be the springboard of open or sneak aggressions against its neighbours and live with them like a good neighbour. If Pakistan agreed to this there would be no threat to Pakistan. Its security and integrity would be best preserved if it stops the sneak aggression from its territory against Afghanistan, refuse to be pawn of any imperialist or expansionist power, thus facilitating the return of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan. The Soviet Union has repeatedly assured that it has no designs against Pakistan. At the same time, when the Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko was in New Delhi, he had to deal a stern warning to Pakistan against that country turning itself into large base of imperialist aggressions.

> "Pakistan, if it goes along the same road in future (becoming base and instrument of aggressive manoeuvres) will get nothing good and undermine its position as an independent state—Its interests would imply the strengthening of its independence and maintaining good and friendly relations with all neighbouring countries".

Let Pakistan and its patrons in the West realise that while it is the obligation of the neighbours of Pakistan to respect its sovereignty and cooperate with it as friendly nations, they can not sit idle if Pakistan becomes a deadly threat for their security and integrity. Let Gen. Zia ask President Carter what he will do if some foreign power tries to use Mexico or Panama for anti-American subversion and springboard for aggression against the USA.

Even now General Zia, with his own position in the country more shaky than even before, is trying to get good price for being the pawn of the West. He wants plenty of aid, cash and arms, and defence treaty with the U.S.A. Will that ensure stability and security of Pakistan ?

The history teaches that a pawn always becomes prey of its own miscalculation.

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5

Uncle Sam's Dragon Pet

"They say China is peace loving. This is not true. In fact, China likes a fight. Here am I, a Chinese, and I like to fight the Soviet revisionism and hegemony..."

—Mao Tse-tung in February, 1967.

"All diplomacy is continuation of war by other means—"

—Chou-En-Lai to Edgar Snow, author of 'Red Star over China'.

"China which claimed and still claims to be anti-imperialist is pursuing a course today for which comparison can be sought in the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries—"

—Jawaharlal Nehru—speech in Lok Sabha on November 8, 1962.

"What is more troublesome is not what we do not know about China ; it is what we do not know about ourselves—about our own goals, our own policies, our own conceptions..."

—Edward Kennedy, in his address at University of Chicago February 8, 1967.

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HENRY Kissinger, the most famous and the most controversial American Secretary of States after John Foster Dulles is reported to have privately remarked : "My stepping on Peking airport was more significant event in world history than landing of first American on the Moon, because it confirmed that headlong clash between the two communist giants was inevitable."

This certainly is a vivid expression of glee which the West experienced when the Maoist regime of China chose to make its former enemy number one its best friend and began to treat its proven friend in need, the Soviet Union, as its enemy number one.

So many people world over still wonder over this brazen *volte face* by Peking but to the dispassionate students of Sinology this was an inevitable development. This has happened because China can never be true friend and collaborator of any country as long as it remains under the ruling cliques seeking domination and expansion. Its thousands of year's history has testified that. The paradox of Sino-U.S. friendship is explained by the common intent of the two domination seeking powers in which they have decided to help each other.

China has always been an imperialist domain. Its imperialist rulers have beaten every other in cunning, arrogance and ruthlessness. In the art of deception also the Chinese ruling class pride to be the supreme. In his speech in Rajya Sabha on September 10, 1959 while discussing initial Chinese incursion in NEFA (now Arunachal Pradesh) Jawaharlal Nehru made the following significant remarks :

> "Now, a very favourite word with the Chinese authorities is "imperialism". It seems to me that sometimes this word is used to cover every sin and everything as if that was an explanation of every argument. The Chinese State today is a great, colossal State. Was this Chinese State born as such from the head of Brahma ? How did it grow so big and great ? Surely, in past ages by the ability of its people and the conquest of its warriors ; in other words by Chinese imperialism. I am not talking of the present, more

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> enlightened days of China, but of the old days. The Chinese State grew in that way, and came into Tibet."

From the very beginning of its known history and civilisation, Chinese ruling classes have considered themselves a super race, the most civilised, with the divine right to rule over all other races. To them all non-Chinese races are barbarians to a less or more extent. In past they did develop some admiration for India when Chinese travellers and imperial emissaries visited this land and were impressed by its flourising civilisation. Jawaharlal Nehru in his "*The Discovery of India*" makes an interesting mention of this blind superiority complex in these words.

> "For all his admiration for India and many things Indian, I-tsing made it clear that he gave first place to his native land. China, India might be the 'noble region', but China was the 'divine land'. 'The people of the five parts of India are proud of their own purity and excellence. But high refinement, literary elegance, propriety, moderation, ceremonies of welcoming and parting, the delicious taste of food, and the richness of benevolence and righteousness are found in China only, and no other country can excel her.' In the healing arts of acupuncture and cautery and the skill of feeling the pulse, China has never been superseeded by any part of India ; the medicament for prolonging life is only found in China.....From the character of men and the quality of things China is called the "divine, land". Is there any one in the five parts of India who does not admire China ?

This superiority complex, suspicious mind and arrogance of its ruler kept China isolated from the rest of the world. China was known as forbidden land of mystery and Peking, its capital, as forbidden city. The Great Wall, the only world famous monument of this vast land, only symbolises its self-imposed isolation. There have been few contacts with the outside world, and very little communication. The hard ice of

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isolation was broken a little when the revolution brought about by Dr. Sun Yat Sen ended the imperial dynamic rule, and the republic was formed. But Chiang Kai-Shiek pushed the country again behind the veil of secrecy and suppression. The Japanese aggression, the second world war, and following civil war did the rest. The People's Republic encouraged contacts and communication with other countries, especially the newly emerging nations as long as "Bhai Bhai" era lasted. But then estrangement with the Soviet Union and India and the so-called Cultural Revolution shrouded new China also behind the thick layers of isolation ; which remains unpenetrated despite conducted visits of few American and other tourists.

The Chinese puzzle and mystery remain even in this nuclear age.

The paradox of China can be explained to some extent this way. The country is big and great. Its people are talented and intelligent, people of culture and civilisation. But the patriarchal system Confucius gave to this county led to the establishment of one tyrannical and imperial order one after another. While the upper classes as in every feudal society, especially so in China, enjoyed power luxury and refinement, the vast masses of people always remained hapless, oppressed, exploited and ignorant. To keep their power secure the rulers and the upper classes found it imperative to keep the masses in that state, and for the very purpose they forced isolation on the country.

But the success of Dr. Sun Yat Sen's nationalist revolution and later the communist revolution proved that the Chinese were perhaps more receptive to change and new idea and also were conscious of their rights. The way they fought Japanese invaders proved their patriotism. As long as Maoism did not denigrate Chinese communist movement, the country came fast out of its shell, and not only made spectacular economic and industrial progress but also established close rapport and contact with so many countries, despite the then Washington campaign to treat People's China as untouchable.

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But inner power struggle and the old lust for domination made Maoism also to turn back to old imperialist methods. Of course, labels were changed and so was the partial change of approach. But now it is hard to differentiate between the old imperialist China and the present Maoist regime.

China was first under Han imperialism, which was vanquished by Manchow tyranny. Then both got intermixed to form the Chinese race as we find it today. Their families also used to be dominated by the eldest male member, who had to be a tyrant. Now this place is taken by commune boss. Large number of Chinese have migrated and settled abroad, especially in South East Asian countries and the USA. But there too they maintain somewhat self-segregated existence.

The People's Revolution, it was generally anticipated, would bring about complete physical and mental transformation of China, and it will no more be called the yellow dragon, because Mao-Tse-tung claimed that his was a Marxist-Leninist Revolution. It was so initially, otherwise it would have not succeeded. But latter it was distorted.

Undoubtedly the revolution brought about many distinct changes in Chinese life. But it did not change their basic attitude and the core of their thinking. The change has been only of the form and not of the substance.

The People's Republic of China was inaugurated when the cold war had already gripped the world, and so, anti-communism of extreme form obsessed the rulling circles of America and the West, who were already horror stricken on finding that not only had the Soviet Union emerged stronger out of the Second World War but many European countries had opted for socialist order. So, despite the fast growing arsenals of their nuclear weapons, the very thought that now they would have to reckon with the two communist "giants", (as they then described the Soviet Union and People's China) left the West sweating cold. It was this feeling of terror and not downfall of Chiang Kai-Shiek and his regime that made the West especially the U.S., Government to hate People's China even more than the Soviet Union, and it made every

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attempts to scuttle it. Frenzied US opposition to the admission of People's China to the U.N.O. and other world bodies, which lasted till Peking did not declare total opposition to the Soviet Union, was characteristic of this "Hate People's China" policy, Washington relentlessly pursued for years. The contempt in which the new China was held by the American ruling circles can well be gauged from the following words of the former Secretary of States, Dean Acheson which formed the part of his address in the U.N. General Assembly in 1951 as the U.S. Chief Delegate.

> "China's international conduct is so low that it would take considerable time to raise it to the general level of barbarianism."

The U.S. armed intervention and aggression in Korea and prolonged and large scale involvement in Vietnam was basically motivated by the desire to maintain American military strongholds adjacent to Chinese border so that it would be easier to strike at China when opportunity offered itself. As a matter of fact, both Vietnam and Korea fought and suffered not only for their own freedom but also for the protection of People's China. See, how they are now being repaid ?

Naturally, China countered American hate by its own hate of America. Mao Tse-tung became famous for his long and vituperative harangues against the USA which he branded as 'Paper Tiger'. In a speech in 1951, he declared :

> "The American imperialism is the worst and most obnoxious enemy of mankind, which has to be fought on all fronts, without giving any quarter to it anywhere. On its ruins alone can a new world be built."

It is an universally recognised fact which Mao Tse-tung acknowledged so many times before he did not fall foul with the Soviet leadership, that without the large scale selfless material and political support from the Soviet Union, neither would have he won full and conclusive victory over Chiang Kai Shiek's Komintang regime, which received massive American military and economic aid, nor had he consolidated

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the People's Republic of China which faced terrible economic crisis, accentuated by the blockade imposed by the U.S. bloc, and also constant threat of U.S. backed invasion from Taiwan where Chiang Kai Sheik still ruled. Inside, China was afflicted by drought and famine. Mao Tse-tung said in 1953 :

> "If the Soviet Union did not exist, there would have been no victory over fascism in the second world war, if Japanese imperialism had not been defeated, could we have won victory in such circumstances ? Obviously not."

It was the Soviet Union which finally and conclusively defeated the fascism and helped China to vanquish Japanese imperialism. In December 1949 Mao himself admitted :

> "At the beginning of (Sino-Nippon) war none of the imperialist powers gave us any real assistance. The Soviet Union alone helped us with arms, huge manpower and material and financial resources."

I need not recall the numerous resolutions passed by the Chinese Communist Party and statements made by Mao and other Peking leaders about the colossal aid, economic and technological, given by the Soviet Union to rehabilitate dilapidated Chinese economy and for its development on modern lines, also ensuring security for the new republic. As a result of this assistance, China's power production rose from 4,355 million KWHs in 1949 to 19,300 million KWHs, in 1951. Relative figures of other major items are: Coal from 32.4 million tons to 130 million tons, crude oil from 100 thousand tons to 150 thousand tons, pig iron from 300 thousand tons to 5.9 million tons, steel from 200 thousand tons to 20 million tons. By 1964, when final rupture was effected, the Soviet Union had built and helped to run as many as 400 major industrial projects, constructed large stretches of railway and modernised and expanded seaports and airports in China.

The Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance was signed on February 14,1950 only three months after the People's Republic was proclaimed. Mao Tse-tung hailing

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the Treaty said that "it not only renders tremendous help to China but also provides reliable guarantee against aggression and for safeguarding of peace and security in the Far East and rest of the world."

I will now quote Mao only twice to show how grateful he was for all that the Soviet Union had done for China, and how important he then held the friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union.

Welcoming President Voroshilov of the USSR at Peking airport, Mao said on April 15, 1957.

> "The Soviet people have always given us tremendous support and sympathised with the Chinese revolution. It is unthinkable for us even to consider any break of relations with the Soviet Union on any serious difference with it."

As late as February 1960 Mao said :

> "The imperialist intend to fight the Soviet Union, to fight the communists. You let your say in any alliance with them and they will demand that you 'go fight North', and nothing will remain of your revolution..."

Yet, within few years Mao himself did the 'unthinkable' and broke his country away from the Soviet Union, its best benefactor, branded it as enemy number one in place of the U.S.A. curried for and secured the latter's favour and went to fight "the North" with vengeanceful intent. So, you can reckon what is left of Chinese revolution which has turned hostile to most of the socialist and nonaligned countries and become a bed fellow of imperialism, neo-colonialism and racism. Adversity certainly does make strange bed fellows.

But, why did red painted yellow dragon become the pet of Uncle Sam ?

Different explanations have been put forward. Mao wanted too much from the Soviet Union and yet suspected everything that was given to him. While the whole socialist camp and nonaligned world were pursuing a policy of peace, Maoist China

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not only turned war monger but began to preach the inevitability of nuclear war.

During his last visit to Moscow, Mao horrified his host by saying that nuclear war would still leave half a Chinese alive while destroying most of the rest of mankind. And that China could make good the loss in population in no time and thus there would be true socialism all over the world. He meant, there would be only Chinese all over the world.

But the fundamental cause of Maoist China breaking away from the Socialist camp, turning unremitably hostile to it and becoming a collaborator in world domination designs of the US imperialism was that the Maoist revolution had worn only a thin veneer of progressive ideology. The only difference between the old Han or Manchow imperialism and new Maoist imperialism, is that while the former derived their power from upper feudal classes, the latter have regimented the peasantry under its own commune system which is the base of Maoist power. Otherwise, there is now no difference between China old and new. Tyranny and ruthlessness characterises both. Maoism, also believes in the superiority of Chinese race and dreams of a world empire and wants to become a world power in the first instance. Then old Chinese militarism has been replaced with a modernised version. While the people may starve or move in rags, China's military strength must grow, and the empire must expand.

The cartographic aggression launched by Peking on all those countries who touch its borders or lie near about, speak of its unabashed imperialist and expansionist designs. It has laid claim on almost half of Soviet Asia, large areas of India, Nepal, Bhutan, Burma, Malaysia, Thailand, Kampuchea and Vietnam. It claims Mongolian People's Republic entirely as its lost land and would have occupied it but for the presence of Soviet troops there. It has already annexed Inner Mongolia which certainly is not a Chinese territory. It tried to occupy Indonesia with the help of Chinese dominated Communist Party and by arming Chinese population there. The Maoist rape and occupation of Tibet and genocide of Tibetans has earned it world wide condemnation.

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Instead of liberating Taiwan or Hongkong, China invaded India in 1962. When the Soviet Union disapproved of this and sympathised with India. Peking made this very fact as the immediate cause of turning against Moscow. China is still in occupation of large Indian territory in Ladakh. Quite recently, in February 1979, 6,00,000 Chinese troops invaded Democratic Republic of Vietnam along with hundreds of tanks and thousands of field guns. Chinese invaders are still in occupation of large Vietnamese border areas. Washington and some Western capitals gloated over this. Naturally, China got full backing in this adventure from its American allies.

While Maoist China has turned against the Soviet Union, (now branded as enemy number one) most of other socialist countries and progressive nonaligned nations, it has built close camaraderie with bloody fascist junta of Chile, reactionary racist regimes of South Africa and Israel, aggressive and oppressive regimes of Somalia, and Egypt and of course the entire NATO bloc.

Mao Tse-tung is dead. His successors have gone against his domestic policies. But in matter of collusion with imperialism and reactionary forces, and in violent opposition to the Soviet Union and its friends, they have gone many strides ahead of even Mao and at a much accelerated pace. They have established full diplomatic relations with the USA without getting back Taiwan. Obviously they will tolerate, the Komintang-ruled Taiwan indefinitely as they are tolerating British Hong Kong and Portuguese Macao. They had to suffer other frustrations. The USA carried on detente in Europe as long as that suited it, and also signed SALT-II treaty with the USSR despite tough opposition and passionate pleadings from Peking. Many times Washington enforced its intent; that while it wanted collaboration and "good will" of Peking because that suits its global strategy, the Chinese will have to be content to play the second fiddle.

Peking rulers, unlike their national trait but under the conditions of desperation have tolerated all this, shrewdly waiting for their opportunity.

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It came soon enough.

While Peking rulers were still under the shock they suffered due to signing of SALT-II, to torpedo which they had earlier invaded Vietnam in a bid to push the world into the abyss of cold war, they got the relief soon enough. When President Carter came out with his plan for planting 600 nuclear missiles in West Europe, Hua Guofeng the Chinese Premier and Party Chairman, visited the capitals of West European countries covered by Carters' missiles plan. Apart from negotiating arms deals and transfer of Western technology to China, he strongly supported the missile mischief and advocated its prompt acceptance more furiously then even Carter's aides.

In all these European capitals Hua Guofeng poured venom against the Soviet Union, told tall tales about the formidable Soviet military might and danger it posed, repeatedly cursed the "Soviet hegemony" and urged collective effort by the West and China to contain the "Polar Bear". While he won gleeful applause from persons like Margaret Thatcher, the British Premier, others were amazed at the degree of his vehemence. Still others felt embarrassed.

Months earlier, the real strong-man of the post-Mao China, Deng Xiao-ping, the Deputy Prime Minister, had visited the USA, (significantly on the eve of invasion of Vietnam which he clearly hinted in Washington itself) where he was given a royal welcome and an exceptional treatment. According to *Newsweek* (February 12, 1979), "Carter was 'ecstatic' and forgetting protocol, he personally escorted Deng, and said that the visit was "one of most historic events in our nation's history".

Newsweek added :

> "Perhaps the biggest source of embarrassment to the Carter Administration was the fact that Deng kept baiting the Soviet "Polar Bear." At times, his US visit resembled a one-man crusade against the dangers of "hegemonism"—Peking's code word for the Soviets. Time and again, Deng warned that the Soviet Union could lead the world into another war, and he all but advocated an alliance of the U.S. China, Japan,

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Western Europe and the Third World against Moscow. One U.S. foreign affairs expert said, Deng may have hurt his own cause. Brezhnev can ask us, "what kind of crazy people are you normalizing relations with ?" We never advocated ganging up on China.

Continuing his dietribes against Moscow, Deng termed it "main hot bed of war", and repeatedly swore at "Polar Bear". Even at National Art Gallery, he did not refrain from slander against the Soviet Union. "It is very evident that hegemonist expansion is the main source of turmoil in all parts of the world. It has become an urgent task of all the countries and peoples to combat hegemonism".

Was Deng talking nonsense ? Certainly not ! He was forecasting things. When finally Washington leashed cold war after its failure in grabing Afghanistan, Washington itself began to pursue new military pacts, one for West Asia, including Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Persian Gulf States, Sudan, Oman, Egypt and Israel ; another in Far East including China, Japan, South East Asian countries and also Australia and Newzealand. These pacts, both directed against the Soviet Union and its friends, are being secretly pursued. We know what danger they will pose to India.

Afghanistan events of course provided the long waited opportunity to the Peking rulers to lead the USA on their own "garden path". With their hands still dipping with the blood of Vietnamese, they condemned the Soviet Union for sending its troops to defend a revolutionary state against imperialist aggression and C.I.A. plotting. Never before have the American and Chinese rulers sailed on the same boat as they did in case of Afghanistan. The events there were used as pretext for unleashing exactly what Peking rulers wanted : cold war and brinkmanship ; imminent danger of direct USA-USSR confrontations, burial of SALT-II for the present at least ; world wide tension; above all, "positive U.S. responses to our pleas for containing hegemonism", as a Chinese diplomat told me. The crisis has also made Pakistan more dependent upon China, and as a result, Peking-Islamabad collusion is further

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strengthened. Peking also hopes to use it to spread its influence over many Islamic countries apart from pressurising India. While Peking issued a number of slanderous and threatening statements against the Soviet Union, American press reports revealed that Washington had finally reconciled to the need of developing "diversified defence collaboration with Peking".

Now Washington and Peking definitely are the closest mutual allies and collaborators in the current cold war and shall be so in any hot war that may errupt anywhere. Both are providing arms to those fighting against Afghan Revolution. The USA has backed Chinese aggression on Vietnam, while Peking wants American presence back in Indo-China. In the last cold war they were in opposite camps, now they are on the same side. Enemies of yesterday have become friends of today.

But how come, "communist" China has become "collaborator number one" of capitalist America? And how long will this Peking-Washington collusion last? Presently, Washington is playing its China card and China is playing its Washington card. Both are pleased. Both are essentially imperialist and domination seeking powers, and hence, as long as they have common enemy and common interest they will remain together. If the champion of "free world" can go along with fascist junta of Chile it can also go better along with Maoist China as long as that serves its purpose.

Of course, basic clash of interests between the two is there. Both are playing same trick against each other. China hopes that by causing a nuclear collusion between the USA and the USSR, it will see the destruction of both of these big powers, both of whom not long ago it had condemned as big power chauvinists and hegemonists (during early seventies Peking was opposing both). It still believes that China will survive a nuclear war, and be left alone to dominate the whole world. The USA on the other hand has been dreaming of internecinical war between two 'communist giants' which will destroy communists and leave capitalism with its open license for exploitation and world domination. There is no need for me

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to discuss whether such dreams can ever come true. But presently, the ruling classes of China and America are partners in cold war, and are plotting for conflict here and conflict there. Both are enemies of peace and security everywhere. Presently the yellow dragon is Uncle Sam's pet.

Considering the stakes both have in each other, it would be wishful thinking to suppose that soon the two will fall apart. Even together they are incapable to defeat and destroy pro-peace world. So, they will cling together for long time despite the basic dichotomy in their ultimate aims. China, the weaker and less developed, needs help from the West, for which Peking rulers have been going abegging. So, it has no option but to depend upon the good will of Washington at the latter's terms. Hence, the Sino-U.S. collusion will remain a solid fact till Peking's hostility to the USSR remains as it is. Let nobody harbour any illusion about the Washington-Peking collusion. Yet, it makes me remember the old Chinese fable : A man made a pet of a deadly viper and it bit him to death when one day for reasons beyond his control, he could not feed it with milk.

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6

India In Crucible

"The truth has always been dangerous to the rule of the rogue, the exploiter, the robber. So, the truth must be suppressed."

—Eugene V. Derbs

"It would be a black day when India does not stand upright by the side of truth and against the tyranny."

—Mahatma Gandhi (in a prayer meeting)

"Sons of poverty assemble,
Ye whose hearts with woe are riven,
Let the gulity tyrants tremble,
Who our hearts with woe have given.
We will never,
From the shrine of truth be driven."

—Jones Earnest

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THE rebirth of India as a free and sovereign nation came at the time when the cold war had already shadowed the international horizon. From the very outset India followed in the international relation what is now famous as nonalignment policy, which later almost every re-emerging nation adopted. Jawaharlal Nehru was the father of the policy. A visionary, he had clearly seen that in a nuclear world no other policy could suit all those nations who prized their independence and sought peace and progress. He was convinced of the objectivity and usefulness of this policy based on peaceful co-existence.

The Western bloc, especially the USA and Britain were offended by this policy because it hurt their vested interests and strategy. They supposed that they had "gifted" India with freedom and hence, it was incumbent upon her to be their camp follower. They had not the courage of saying so to Nehru in so many or even few words. So, they used the language of pressure. The British inspiration behind the Pakistan invasion on Jammu & Kashmir did not remain secret for long. But initially, Nehru had much trust in the sense of right and wrong of the Western powers especially USA that he rushed to the U.N. Security Council with the complaint against Pakistan aggression on Indian State of Jammu & Kashmir. Obviously the advice of Lord Mountbatten influenced him in this decision, but immediately, he suffered the first of the two most bitter disappointments and shocks of his life. (The second was Chinese aggression in 1962).

Instead of supporting India's demand for vacation of aggression even after she offered to hold a plebiscite in the state, the Anglo-American axis not only did not say a single word against Pak aggression, but also supported it by implication. Adopting a big brother attitude over the two smaller quarreling brothers, they tried to grab the strategically placed state for themselves. It was the Soviet veto that came to India's rescue in a West dominated Security Council. This act was repeated many times. This was the proof of Moscow's solid approval of nonalignment, and its sincere and consistent friendship with India.

India thus found itself in the vortex of the cold war.

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Incensed by the phenomenon of every re-emerging nation following nonalignment, Washington mounted pressure on the one hand and used temptation on the other. But nothing would tempt or brow beat India to give up its well-chosen policy. So, Washington formed two military blocs, one in West Asia, named the Baghdad Pact and later CENTO, and SEATO in the East, to encirle India also along with the Soviet Union. It also armed Pakistan to the hilt, apart from helping it to organise endless subversion against India in Kashmir, thus, forcing us to divert considerable resources to defence, while Pakistan got everything free, even salaries for about three divisions of its army. India, nevertheless, pursued its non-alignment policy with greater vigour and much success.

Much to chagrin of Washington, India befriended China (perhaps the USA opposition made us more enthusiastic and less cautious in matter of wooing China, and consequently we had to suffer grievously very soon). New Delhi played a befitting role in bringing peace to Korea, in support of Indonesian freedom struggle, and ending colonial hold on Indo-China. It played prominent role at the Genva Conferences and in frustrating Western and Israeli aggression against Egypt and other Arab nations. India's prestige rose as a moral force for peace. It was chosen Chairman of the Control Commissions, both in Korea and Indo-China States, also head of peace keeping forces in Sinai and Congo. This caused jitters not only to our Western, especially American "friends", but to "Chini Bhai" also, who grew very jealous of us.

There could be no worse example of U.S. duplicity and double talk than this one : On the one hand it hailed our efforts to build our economy by democratic means, and even helped us with food aid at times when famine struck our country, also with credits. But on the other, by arming Pakistan it reduced our capacity to raise resources for peaceful development. Moreover, it determinedly resisted even a medium-scale industrialisation of India, lest this country grew really self-reliant and strong. Washington never made a secret of its intent to keep our country perpetually weak and backward. On the contrary it was the Soviet Union which helped us in a big

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way to establish heavy industries and develop infrastructure for them. This tremendous assistance, which has no parallel, was besides the consistent political and moral support rendered to us by the USSR.

When China finally struck the perfidious blow on India by invading NEFA and Ladakh in October, 1962, the USA showed much lip sympathy. Its relations with Peking were still very bad. So, this event was used both to denounce the Red Dragon, and also assert gleefully that the nonalignment had failed. After having entered into the Treaty of Friendship with India according to Panch Sheel (Five Principles) and become a brother of India, China had invaded India.

Unofficially, the American press and leaders gloated over the reverses that our armed forces met initially. They had been virtually ambushed unawares. The war had been launched without a declaration. Indeed, India and China continued their diplomatic relations even after October 22, 1962. It is well known that in every war it is the aggressor and invader who takes first advantage. Even unprepared and taken by surprise, Indian forces stopped Chinese advance within two weeks after the Chinese launched invasion in their peculiar style of massive waves. Even numerically the combat was between five to one. As soon as Indian forces began to regroup for counter attack the Chinese declared ceasefire and began to withdraw. Even then we did not deny we had suffered. Nobody had ever before doubted bravery of Indian soldiers. Yet, the American press published concocted and lurid stories of our "rout" and passed epithets full of contempt for our fighting men.

Most of our army was posted to meet the threatened Pak aggression on the Western and Eastern borders. We were short of both men and suitable arms. We asked for arms from many countries including the USA against payment. Some small arms were delivered from the USA. We needed more to raise a few mountain divisions to defend Himalayas, a necessity which rose perhaps for the first time in our history. In the past, Himalayas were themselves supposed to be India's sentinels. The US was willing to provide arms and equipment

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but we were told that since nonalignment had failed to defend us, so, before we could expect any supplies even against cash we would have to join their military bloc. It was also claimed that during our hostilities with Chinese they had held Pakistan in check who was otherwise ready to strike at us on the other side. (Pakistan-China axis had in fact been already established.)

But even during those trying times India refused to succumb. Nehru would not believe that every friend would betray us like China did. He proved right. In fact, Maoist China was never our friend. It had exploited our offer of friendship when it needed it most to gain some international respectability and recognition. Then its traditional expansionist mentality had the better of it. What had happened in Tibet had already alerted Nehru. But faced with so many demands and problems, he could not organise the Himalayan defence well in time.

Anyway, USA contentions and overtures soon belied themselves. Pakistan opposed any arms supplies to India. To keep Pindi puppets in good mood, the USA augmented arms supplies to Pakistan also, thus only adding to our difficulties. The offer of arms supplies to India for new divisions never materialised. It was soon found that Moscow had not only disliked the Chinese aggression on India but administered strict admonition on Peking, first privately and then openly, and assured India of all support and help. China made this Soviet attitude the pretext for snapping ties with Moscow. It was finally the Soviet Union that helped us to arm and equip the new mountain divisions.

It was useless to expect that Truman and Nehru would be able to find any equation, as both were poles apart. So Nehru's first visit to the USA proved a big failure. The capitalist arrogance simply shocked him. His second visit to the USA during the Presidency of John F. Kennedy also achieved little success, although that American President was supposed to be liberal and had a soft corner for India. It was soon realised that the real ruling circles of America would never forgive India and every President had to toe their line. Kennedy also tried to win Nehru over to US side. When he

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failed, he called Nehru a "vain person". This was yet another proof of basic U.S. hostility against nonaligned India.

It surprised many people but not those who know better when just after 2 years and nine months of Chinese aggression, Pakistan launched massive invasion on India in August 1965, first in Jammu & Kashmir by using Chinese trained and armed guerilla troops and then on Punjab and Rajasthan borders. By then a thaw had eased cold war in Europe and a secret contact had been established between Peking and Washington. Now war mongers were trying to turn whole Asian continent into a volcano. Another war had been fought in West Asia. Vietnam war was at its peak and America was in its midst. A third conflagration was engineered in the sub-continent (now called South Asia).

In this war Pakistan, then under the dictatorship of the self-styled Field Marshal Ayub Khan, committed hundreds of US tanks, thousands of armoured cars, latest field guns, modern jet planes and other showpieces American armaments in a massive pincer movement against India. There were reliable reports about American officers directing the whole aggressive operation. This large-scale aggression was committed under the direct inspiration from both Washington and Peking, and it was "punishment" (both these capitals believe in their divine right to "punish" those weaker or small nations who won't go by their dictat) for India having refused even after Nehru's death to join their aggressive camp ; for refusing to hand over Kashmir on a platter to Pakistan, and having raised its defence potential with the cooperation of the Soviet Union instead of capitulating before them.

The aggression materialised one year and two and a half months after the death of Nehru. Before it, a mini invasion was lauchned on Kutch desert. Here also Indian unpreparedness in that particular neglected area helped Pakistan to gain initial advantage. This encouraged the aggressor. They thought that under Lal Bahadur Shastri, whom they called "Little Man", India wouldn't stand a chance before all out pincer movement towards Delhi ; the immediate objective being

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to cut Jammu & Kashmir from the rest of India. They miscalculated both Indian preparedness to fight back, and the indomitable determination of the "Little Man". So, within sixteen days Indian Jawans and officers smashed the America and China made Pak war machine, destroyed the entire steel ring of fortifications and pill boxes put up along the Ravi, and reached at the door of Lahore and Sialkot.

Since India had no designs on Pakistan territory so she accepted a ceasefire as soon as the immediate objective of the war of attrition was met. Indeed, after winning the war "Little Man", Lal Bahadur Shastri went to Tashkent in search of peace with Pakistan. Whereas the USA and China armed and provoked Pakistan for aggression, the Soviet Union brought the belligerents to the peace table, and by constant pursuit succeeded in bringing about an honourable Indo-Pakistan peace accord, known as the Tashkent Declaration.

Shastri died only few hours after signing the historical accord. The "hawks" in Pakistan, backed by Sino-American war mongers, ousted Ayub Khan soon after Indian troops vacated Pakistan territory, and began preparations for the next war. A more desperate military dictator emerged in the shape of General Yahya Khan, with fiery Z.A. Bhutto as his chief dviser. The latter became famous by his advocacy of a 1000 years war with India. With bigger stream of Chinese and American arms flowing in, Pakistan soon was, as Yahya Khan himself said, ready for "decisive" war with India.

The decisive war was fought in 1971, this time over Bangladesh, and despite pre-emptive invasion by Pakistan, the latter suffered a crushing defeat within fourteen days. Due to sheer folly of Yahya Khan and too ambitious and flambouyant politician, Z.A. Bhutto, also vindictive misdirection of Nixon and blind arrogance of Maoist clique of China, Pakistan lost its eastern wing. More than even Sheikh Mujib and his band of patriots, these four men, blinded by power and hatred of India, helped an independent Bangladesh to emerge. Had Nixon responded to the plea of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, who personally visited him on a peace mission, an amicable solution on the

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basis of return of refugees and autonomous Bangladesh, within Pakistan, would have been arrived at. But Nixon not only destroyed the last chance but also demonstrated to the world how hollow was the American concern for freedom and democracy, and how callous he was as a leader.

Nixon, instead of calling halt to the carnage carried out by the Pak troops in Bangladesh, encouraged Yahya Khan in this game. But despite 'Paper-Tiger' threats of Peking and gunboat blackmail by Nixon, the pre-emptive aggression on India boomeranged. Bangladesh was liberated, nearly a lakh of crack Pakistani troops surrendered unconditionally. The pincer movement plan from the West failed again and more miserably. In this second war of attrition the remodelled China-America war machine, much bigger than of 1965, was more severely battered.

But once the legitimate objective of defeating the aggression was achieved, India again stretched a hand of friendship to Pakistan. A sobered Bhutto was received in Simla by Mrs. Indira Gandhi, as friend and not as a vanquished foe. The result was Simla Accord, a real beginning for normalisation in the sub-continent. For the second time all occupied Pakistan areas were returned and over 10,00,000 prisoners of war released. The quiet Soviet diplomacy played a useful role in convening and success of Simla Conference.

The progress of Indo-Pak normalisation, however, remained painfully slow because the patrons of Pakistan in Washington and Peking continued their meddling and arms supplies to Pakistan. Then Bhutto, who first became Prime Minister and then President of Pakistan, faced internal difficulties because of his lust for undivided power. In the elections held during Yahya's regime he had lost in Baluchistan and NWFP. Instead of trying to win over the patriotic forces there, he tried to thwart and suppress them. Then he rigged the elections he himself ordered. So, people even in Punjab (Pak) and Sind also turned against him. This led to another military dictatorship under Gen. Zia, who finished Bhutto on gallows after implicating him in a murder case, and who still rules over Pakistan by

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brute force despite his sheer unpopularity, but because of his popularity with Peking and Washington. It is with his conniving that Peking and Washington have organised sneak aggression against Afghan People's Revolution, which in the process is helping him to crush popular upsurge in Pakistan itself.

I have given this rather detailed background so that it may be easier for the readers to judge what is at stake for India in the renewed cold war. First, cold war caused so much trouble for us—four big and small Pakistan aggressions and one major Chinese invasion, also tension and increased defence burden. There has been the Chinese engineered subversion and insurrection in our North Eastern tribal belt, which still continues and now the C.I.A. is also collaborating with them.

Let us also take a brief view of Sino-Indian confrontation as to judge how genuine are Peking's normalisation overtures in the context of its overall conduct, particularly in this new phase of the cold war.

India was the first non-communist nation to grant the People's Republic of China prompt recognition, and not only established full diplomatic relations with the new Chinese regime but also extended its hand of friendship and cooperation. This earned our country more wrath of the West than any other act. India, especially Nehru, had pinned great hopes on New China, emerging as it did almost simultaneously with New India. Nehru has been struck by the illusion of thousands of years of friendship between India and China, which was nothing but the absence of wars between India and China, because the formidable Himalayas separated the two giant nations and civilisations of Asia. Writing in his "*The Discovery of India*" long before the establishment of the People's Republic, when China was suffering the terrible pangs of re-emergence in face of Japanese invasion, which naturally won it lot of sympathy in India, the Soviet Union and other progressive peoples, Nehru recorded :

> "And now wheel of fate has turned full circle and again India and China look towards each other and the past memories crowd in their minds ; again pilgrims of new

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> kind cross or fly over the mountains that separate them, bringing their message of cheer and goodwill and creating fresh bonds of friendship that would endure."

In face of international boycott organised against it by the Washington, the PRC needed friends, and Indian friendship gave it certain advantages which it fully exploited in a bid to hypnotize Asian and African countries. So, we had about five years of the "Bhai Bhai" relationship with China, during which we along with the Soviet Union, championed the cause of People's China in every international forum. But in Bandung Conference itself Nehru had sensed that Mao-Chou clique was going to be a bitter adversary of India. Soon came the terrible occupation of Tibet which shocked the whole world. Under the red paint the yellow dragon had turned even more ravenous than before. But Nehru condoned even this outrage and entered into an agreement with Peking under which internal autonomy for Tibet was promised. India willingly renounced certain rights it had over that country. But even this did not appease the dragon.

Soon occurred the new rape of Tibet which forced Dalai Lama and thousand of Tibetans to flee India, for which Peking blamed us.

It was followed by genocide against Tibetans and colonisation of their country by the Chinese. Soon we learned that China had already occupied our territory of Aksai Chin in Ladakh, and built a road across it to connect occupied Tibet with Sinkiang. Simultaneously began incursions into NEFA and Ladakh, while Nehru was still making peace efforts. When the fatefull blow came finally, Nehru told the stunned nation in his broadcast on October 22, 1962 :

> "Perhaps there are not many instances in the history where one country, that is India, has gone out of her way to be friendly and cooperative with the Chinese Government and people, and to plead their cause in the councils of world, and then the Chinese Government, to return evil for good, and even went to the extent of committing aggression and invade our sacred mother-

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land. No self-respecting country and certainly not India with her love for freedom can submit to this..."

When China retreated from NEFA and most of freshly occupied area in Ladakh in face of mounting Indian resistance and world wide condemnation, the non-aligned nations put forward certain proposals at the Colombo Conference to solve the Sino-Indian border dispute. Although these gave many undue advantages to China, New Delhi alongwith Peking agreed to them, but later China wriggled out. After the hot war, it launched an unrelenting cold war against India, which included befriending and arming Pakistan, making a *volte face* on Kashmir issue, and training and arming Naga, Mizo and some other tribal hostiles in South China and Burma and sneaking them into India in a bid to cause insurrection in our North-Eastern region. The more Indo-Soviet friendship and cooperation developed the more hostile and vituperative Peking turned against India. On so many occasions it threatened to invade India again, especially during the 1965 and 1971 Indo-Pakistan wars. However, all these proved paper tiger's threats, because meanwhile, with its own efforts and selfless Soviet assistance, India had built enough defence potential to be able to repeal any aggression from the North, West or East.

It will need a separate and voluminous book to write in detail about economic, political and moral support extended by the Soviet Union to India, always without strings, always selfless and earnest. We know the Soviet Union as our "friend in need and friend indeed". Every time the imperialists and their camp followers tried to corner India either on Kashmir or any other issue, the Soviet Union stoutly stood by our side. The USSR provided us all the technology, know-how, plants, machinery and expertise, and very easy credit to enable us to build massive steel, metallurgical, chemicals, electrical, fertiliser, machine building and others sophisticated and large scale industries ; also helped us in oil exploration and development. The USA refused to extend this type of aid which would make us self-reliant. The Soviet Union helped us to develop our own technology. The number of those trained in the USSR and in India itself by Soviet experts in diversified technologies

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forms a legion. Because of this unselfish Soviet assistance, India is now exporting plants, machinery, machine tools, engineering goods and a wide range of other sophisticated products and the Soviet Union is one of their main purchasers. It never sought either to share in the ownership or management control of the industrial enterprises it helped to build in India.

Not only did the Soviet Union supply us such defence hardware, planes and submarines, which the West would not supply at any price, but also helped India to manufacture herself most of the defence equipment for its Army, Air Force and Navy. Our prized self-reliance in defence industry owes so much to the timely and more than adequate Soviet assistance.

It was the moral and political support unconditionally extended by the Soviet Union that thwarted the Peking-Washington grand design when India was fighting for its very survival in 1971. But for the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship both Mao and Nixon might have gambled an attack on India from North and South. And never has the Soviet Union meddled even indirectly in our domestic affairs. At certain times, India and the Soviet Union differed. There have been changes in leaderships and governments in both countries but these never affected the growth of Indo-Soviet friendship which has grown and continues to grow from strength to strength.

India's true feelings on Afghan problem were given out by Mrs. Indira Gandhi, whom people of India returned to power. She pointed out a few days before the elections that there was foreign armed intervention in Afghanistan long before the so-called "Soviet intervention". So, while India was opposed to the presence of foreign troops on any territory, what cause of the Soviet action could not be ignored.

When the issue was raised in the UN General Assembly, India made it clear that she would not support the resolution seeking unconditional withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. On January 11, an External Affairs Ministry spokesman said :

> "India has no reason to doubt the assurance given by friendly country like the Soviet Union that it would

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withdraw its troops from Afghanistan as soon as Afghanistan Government asked it to do so. The recent developments in Afghanistan could not be considered in a vacuum, but as a part of the developments over a period of time.....These developments arose out of building of bases and arms in the region, and it was matter of vital interest to India that peace, security, and non-alignment of Afghanistan are maintained."

The statement came a couple of days before Indira Government was formally inaugurated. But the Indian External Affairs Ministry had already taken guidance from Mrs. Gandhi's statements. The official spokesman further maintained that "India could not look upon with equanimity when outside powers had been interfering in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, a traditionally friendly country to India." He specifically said that these powers were training, arming and encouraging subversive elements to create disturbance inside Afghanistan (*The Hindustan Times*), January 12, 1980).

Before voting against Western sponsored resolution in the UN General Assembly, the Indian Ambassador, Brijesh Mishra repeated the above quoted arguments, and furthermore, pointed out that the "passage of this resolution will achieve nothing." About the heated debate in the Assembly, the Indian envoy candidly pointed out that "it does not help in restoring the peace in the region.....It may well lead into intensification of cold war and thereby threaten the peace and security of the region".

Since then India has consistently stood by this position. A large number of countries expressed the wish that India should meditate in Afghanistan conflict and defuse USA-USSR confrontation over it. Even Washington and London have encouraged New Delhi in this regard. The British Foreign Minister Lord Carrington and President Carter's envoy Clark Clifford during their Delhi visits publicly supported such initiative by Mrs. Gandhi. She, however, has equally made it clear that the Soviet troops withdrawal can not be divorced

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from sneak aggression being waged against Afghanistan from Pakistan soil and the resultant tension in the whole region. But, instead of listening to the reason, the USA continued to escalate cold war against the Soviet Union.

All along, the U.S. decision to extend large-scale arms aid openly to Pakistan, (apart from the secret inflow) increased supplies from China and other sources, together with a heavy concentration of naval forces in the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf, and expansion and nuclearisation of Deigo Garcia base have created very serious threat to India. T.N. Kaul, India's former Ambassador both in Washington and Moscow, who has first hand experience of the past cold war, made the following observations on Afghan situation as it affects India :

> "I am afraid Pakistan is using this opportunity to get more arms and economic aid ; they have even asked for a defence treaty with the United States. How can they reconcile this with their recently acquired membership of the non-aligned group, I don't know. From the security point of view, the supply of more arms to Pakistan by China and America is a matter of concern for us. Pakistan has only one frontier to guard, as against two we have to defend. India has to safeguard its frontiers against China and more than half its forces are deployed on that border. If Pakistan feels threatened, the best thing for it would be to enter into a non-aggression or no-war pact with India. I would go further and say, let Pakistan, Iran, Afghanistan and India enter into a treaty of peace, friendship, cooperation and non-aggression.
>
> By arming Pakistan they (USA) would not remove the supposed threat to Pakistan because the latter would not use these arms against Afghanistan as long as the Afghan-Soviet Treaty is there. Pakistan would, as she has in the past, use these arms against India. We cannot ignore past history". (*Surya India, April, 1980*)

We can not also ignore the U.S. plans to turn Pakistan into a multiple military base and its long term plans to station its

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naval, air and land forces in that country, also building of bases in Somalia, Saudi Arabia, Kenya and Oman. In an interview to *Surya-India*, the Soviet Ambassador in India, Yuli M. Vorontsov made this revelation which has not been contradicted by any U.S. source :

> "A special striking force had been created long before the events in Afghanistan, a 1,10,000-strong US rapid-develoyment corps, intended for intervention in oil producing countries of the Persian Gulf. Preparations are under way to create a US Fifth Fleet to constantly patrol the Indian Ocean and the Diego Garcia base is being further modernised. The increase in US Naval might in the region——long before "Afghan events"—is unprecedented both by its rate and by its dimension. In the Persian Gulf there is the biggest US Naval armada in the entire post-war period, an armada with the oil-bearing areas of the Middle East as its target. New strategic bombers, B-52, with nuclear weapons aboard have appeared in the sky over the Indian Ocean. As against this, as corroborated by the experts committee appointed by the UN Secretary-General, there is a total absence of Soviet bases in and around the Indian Ocean."

These facts together with the presence of Chinese armed might on our northern border and normalisation process with Peking stalled again, make it easy to gauge the threat to India's security from all four sides, which is growing everyday. Peking Radio has aired anti-Indian outbursts at least thrice since Mrs. Gandhi has been returned to power.

It was officially confirmed in our Parliament that Peking agents and the CIA are now jointly training Mizo, Naga and other tribal hostiles and also Naxalites, at large bases created in Chittagong Hill District of Bangladesh which has been declared out of bounds for ordinary foreigners. From there the guerillas are smuggled into our eastern region for subversion and insurrection. This means that even our eastern border has become vulnerable, and that obviously, preparations are afoot

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to mount the same type of proxy aggression on India from this side as has been attempted against Afghanistan.

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has repeatedly said, "We are neither pro-Russia nor pro-America, we are pro-India". Yes, let us judge the whole situation from the point of view of defending India's security, peace and integrity. That should naturally be our first consideration. Of course, as a progressive and peace loving nation we must try our best to defuse the new cold war, also persuade Pakistan to join us in this noble pursuit and give up its clamour for arms race. At the same time we cannot ignore our security demands. We cannot ignore that the Soviet Union is our best and selfless friend, and so, if we do any thing even unwittingly that weakens the Soviet Union, we will be weakening India and forces of peace in the world. Also, bitten thrice, we have to be six times wiser about all normalisation overtures.

When "Afghan events" were discussed in our new Parliament, most members conceded that the Soviet Union would have never sent its troops to that country if there were not an extremely compelling need for the same. When the USSR was actively pursuing SALT-II, detente and arms and troops cuts, how could it do such a thing if it were not forced with no other option left open to it. Let us consider this also.

When in the wake of Chinese aggression, India's defence policies were being recast, I remember that some top foreign authority on the subject warned Nehru that most vulnerable point in India's defence was north west frontier and that India's security will be gravely jeopardised if a hostile power occupied Afghanistan. Thus, if the December 28, plot of the CIA and Hafizullah Amin had succeeded, India's security would have been very seriously imperiled. Iran would have also fallen and Pakistan would have become a much bigger menance.

In the last six months the leaders of so many countries visited India. These included responsible men from the USSR, the USA, Britain, France and a host of socialist and nonaligned countries. It has been made absolutely clear that the Soviet

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Union is fully prepared to accept our stand——that Soviet troops would withdraw if sneak aggression against Afghanistan is stopped and its non-repetition guaranteed. The USA and West have shown no inclination to do their part to achieve peace and normalcy in the whole zone. On the contrary, their provocative military and political manoeuvers are increasing, also the threat to our own security and well-being. India is in crucible, pushed against its wishes into a vortex along with many other peace loving peoples. We have to ensure our and others' survival and security. We have to beware of ememies pretending to be our friend and stand by our genuine friends who have always stood by us. We have to defend India and also defend peace in the world, by joining the international pursuit to defeat aggression and subversion. That is how we can be pro-India.

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7

Imperialism : Friend or Foe of Muslims ?

"Yet God, prevents you from those who fought your faith and drove you from your homes"

—Holy Quran

"Draw me not away with the wicked and workers of inequity, who speak peace to their neighbours with mischief in their hearts."

—Solomon

"Every time they light the fires of war, God puts them out. And they strive to create disorder on this earth. But God loves not the creator of disorder."

—Holy Quran

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FIRST religious wars fought in the holy land of Palestine were not actually wars between Christianity and Islam but between Britain and other European nations which latter became big imperialist powers, on one the hand, and spreading power of Muslims on the other. The over seven centuries gap that separated the advent of Christianity and the birth of Islam had turned the Christian Church, then entirely controlled by Pope in Rome, into an appendage of European imperial capitals. Islam was still a spreading revolutionary creed in which the European powers saw grave threat to their power.

Thus, began the perpetual conflict between imperialism and Islam.

With the passage of time Muslim political structure also changed. Feudalism subdued its democratic spirit. In place of one Khalifa, there emerged many Muslim Kings and Sultans ruling the different parts of Muslim world, and fighting among themselves. As European imperialism—British, French, Dutch, Portuguese, Spanish and Italian—began to spread its tenacles over the African and Asian continents, fresh clashes developed between the European imperialists and the Muslims domains.

The European powers had grown powerful by conquests and trade, and because of the industrial revolution and scientific advancement, which gave them the advantage of more effective and more deadly weapons. They had built powerful navies, also resourceful intelligence organisations. On the contrary, the rulers of Muslim domains were lost in lust and luxury. Their military prowess was second rate and backward. The result was that in the second round of confrontation, the mutually quarreling Muslim states went down to imperialism and almost every Muslim country came under either direct occupation and subjugation of one or the other European imperialist power, or under indirect domination. That these imperialist powers had turned mutually antagonist, as each of them wanted to monopolise the entire colonial loot, did not help either the Muslim or other subjugated countries in Africa and Asia.

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But the imperialists were always afraid of the unitary character of Islam, and feared that sometime or the other, the Muslim countries and Muslims would join together and also join hands with other subjugated peoples, and overthrow them everywhere. This problem of the imperialism was solved to a great extent by Lawrence of Arabia. Donning Arab robes and moving about in Arab lands for years and years, this famous British agent by rare feats of intrigue played one Arab country against another and put them perpetually at loggerheads. It was more by such intrigues and also by cashing upon the victory in the first world war, that Britain was able to get direct or indirect control over, Egypt, Sudan, Palestine Jordan, Iraq and Persian Gulf States, while French gained foothold in Libya, Algeria, Tunisia, part of Morroco and Syria. Somalia was divided among Britain, France and Italy. In the Far East the Dutch occupied Indonesia and the British Malaysia.

Turkey which had built the great Ottoman Empire and conquered and annnexed better part of Balkan States in Europe was in due time reduced to Sickman of Europe, a British lackey.

In India also the British snatched most of the territories from Muslim rulers. They tried to occupy Afghanistan also by three successive invasions launched from India, but could not go much beyond Khyber. Sometime, not long ago, Afghanistan spread upto Attock and culturally, lingually and ethnically the whole zone is one entity. The British could not enslave Afghans entirely but annexed a part of their territory to create infamous Durand Line.

Lawrence of Arabia, that willy British agent, posed himself as true friend of every Arab ruler, spoke Arabic more fluently than even Arab scholars. The strategic importance of the whole zone was already evident, since the British Empire had already spread so much to Far East and Far West that sun never set over it. The discovery of oil deposits in the West Asian zone only added many times to its importance. The end of British Empire has not reduced the importance of the zone. America has replaced Britain and France even without

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an empire ; only to indulge in greater and more sordid intrigues for using one Arab country against the other with a view to dominating the entire zone.

It was the idea of Lawrence that not only should Arab and Muslim States be kept perpetually fighting among themselves but also must be under strong imperialist heels as to guard against the revival of Muslim unity. He was also for exploiting weakness of Arab rulers. He is said to have told a friend of his—"Since you are as loyal to British Crown as myself, don't hesittate to send your only and beautiful daughter to any old and ugly Arab Sultan's harem, if that serves the purpose of Empire; especially if she has keenly listening ears and observant pair of eyes."

It is now useless to go into the justification or otherwise of the creation of State of Israel in a part of Arab land of Palestine. Israel has become a reality which even a world war cannot obliterate. It is also a fact that the state of Israel was brought into existence under a resolution passed by the UN General Assembly on November 27, 1947 by the requisite two-third majority. The USSR voted in favour of the resolution along with the USA, while Britain, which then held the mandate of the Palestine territory, voted against it. Much has been said in favour of and against the decision. But since the Jews had suffered so terribly and horribly at the hands of Hitler's Nazi regime, a majority opinion supported the plea for giving them a national home.

The Arabs naturally resented it, more so, because the Zionists used terrorism and violence against innocent people to achieve their end. Unfortunately, the Zionist leadership has always been and still is in the hands of die-hard chauvinists. Otherwise, the Arab-Israel problems would not have arisen at all or if it had arisen, it would have been solved long ago, and reconciliation would have been achieved.

The real trouble arose because even before the State of Israel came into formal existence, the Zionist terrorists occupied by brutal force some of those parts of Palestine which were not within the borders of Israel as sanctioned by the UN

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Resolution, which also envisaged the formation of independent Arab State of Palestine. But the Zionist and their imperialist patrons made it impossible for the Arab State of Palestine to emerge. That is the crux of the whole Arab-Israel conflict, which continues to plague international relations and threatens the peace not only in West Asia but also of the whole world.

The Anglo-US axis had pre-determined plans to use Israel as its base for strategic and diplomatic manoeuvres. The British vote against U.N. resolution was the characteristic Lawrence of Arabia style of diplomacy to fool Arabs. Otherwise, London was thick in the imperialist conspiracy covering the whole West Asia. The Zionist H.Q was in the USA and the powers that be in Washington have a dominant Zionist element. So, Israel chose to be the tool of imperialism against Arabs for the too obvious price it has got. That is where the actual complication lies.

Had Israel chosen to confine itself within the borders granted to it by the U.N. and emerged as a peace loving and nonaligned state; had it, instead of grabing more Arab lands, tried to cultivate friendship and cooperation of Arabs and helped them in development, the picture of West Asia would have been entirely different. There would have been no Arab-Israel conflict, there would have been no bloody wars, no strife, no tension; instead, there would have been friendship, cooperation and peace. The imperialist-zionist machinations are solely responsible for what has happened.

Out of its own volition and out of greed and vain dream of Greater Israel, the State of Israel has chosen to be the vehicle of imperialist designs against the Arabs.

Soon after Israel was established, massive armed hordes of Zionists launched mass massacre and arson in Deir Yassin Nasorruddine, Eylout, Sukrein, Hawarreh, Haledush Sheik and other areas given by the UN to Arab Palestine and killing thousands, grabbed all these areas for Israel. Even today lakhs and lakhs of Arab refugees are rotting in different refugee camps in Lebanon, elsewhere, while after capturing in 1967 the whole of Palestine. Sinai Peninsula of Egypt and Golan

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Heights of Syria, Israel has extended its border by setting up more Jewish settlements in occupied Arab lands, most of which it refuses to vacate despite world wide demand and repeated directions of and condemnations by the UN.

Thus, Israel became stepping stone for achieving clandestine aims of racist, fascist and imperialist creed of Zionism; the next step of which was Greater Israel comprised of whole Palestine and some other areas, followed by domination of entire West Asia. The Western imperialism not only patronised and helped this conspiracy but also acted as accessory to crime. The joint Israel-British-French aggression on Egypt in 1957 to destroy Nasser and to occupy Suez Canal and large parts of Egypt, less than a decade after Israel came into existence, was followed by Israeli invasion of 1967 on Egypt, Jordan and Syria with ultra-modern arms, jets and other weapons provided by the USA, consequent to which Israel occupied a large part of the Arab lands.

On both these occasions it was the overwhelming indignation and resentment expressed with great vehemence by peace-loving world, non-aligned and socialist nations especially, that forced the bloody aggressor to stop further conquests. The U.N. also condemned Israel and its imperialist patrons not once but over a score of times. In 1973, after the failure of all the attempts by the UN and world public opinion to persuade Israel to vacate all Arab lands occupied in 1967 aggression, Sadat's Egypt launched a counter attack, which achieved considerable success in the beginning, but then, all out American help to Israel, failure of most of other Arab States to rise to the occasion and help Egypt, and especially the use of the U.S. Satellite spy system which reported all dispositions of Sadat's armies and every little movement of theirs to Israel, Moshe Dayan engineered that landing on the other side of Suez Canal and the war ended in a ceasefire without net scoring by either side. Since then there have been repeated attempts within and out of the UN to make Israel realize the futility of its aggressive attitude and persuade it to vacate all occupied Arab territories, but all in vain. Twice the USSR joined hands with the USA in a bid to solve the West

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Asian tangle and ensure peace in the zone. A Geneva Conference was also mooted, with the big two as co-organisers. But all this proved of little avail. The Zionist rulers of Israel are in no mood to shed their dangerous illusion. Washington has always indulged in double dealing. Overtly it pays lip service to Israel-Arab reconciliation. Covertly it encourages Zionist aggressive designs and backs them with unlimited supply of most rophisticated arms without which Israel would have never been able to do what it has done. The very fact that despite their black deeds in Palestine and against Arab nations, the Western powers were able to set up Baghdad Pact in West Asia with Pakistan, imperial Iran, monorchial Iraq and Turkey joining it willingly, although knowing that it was against not only the Soviet Union but also emerging progressive Arab States, shows that Washington always succeeded in putting one Muslim regime against the other, or one group of them against the other group.

Nasser's socialist revolution in Egypt caused jitters to the imperialists. It was not only the loss of one of the most strategically placed Arab countries to them but it also caused a surge of revolutionary forces in the entire Arab world, one cause of which was that most of the Arab monarchs became willing tools of imperialism. After Egypt, the progressive revolutions swept Iraq, Syria, Algeria, and Libya, and all of them turned against the West. Loss of hold on Iraq forced the change in the name of Baghdad Pact into CENTO. Now, Iran has also been swept by revolution and is out of this military bloc.

However, even these progressive Arab and Muslim republics have not been able to pull together, as to form an effective militant front to liberate Israeli occupied parts of the Arab world. Many efforts at unity were made, but all proved abortive. The merger of first Egypt and Syria, then Egypt and Sudan and then Egypt and Libya also failed. On the other hand, afraid of their own people, the remaining monarchies and reactionary regimes in the Muslim world now cling more desperately to imperialism.

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Pakistan claims to be the champion of Islamic unity, and yet, it supported U. S. manoeuvres against different or all Arab countries every time. Whenever a clash developed between the imperialists and any progressive Muslim nation, Pakistan always sided with the former. That has been exactly the role of feudal States like Saudi Arabia, Jordan, the former Shah's regime of Iran, Turkey (which always opposed Arabism), Somalia and many Persian Gulf States. Even regimes of Sudan, Morocco and Tunisia, while sympathising with Arab cause, never openly defied imperialism ; on the contrary, their bilateral relations with USA and West European countries are "excellent", to quote a senior Sudanese diplomat.

The star achievement of Washington in dividing the Arab Muslim world as to dominate many Muslim nations and render the rest very weak, was winning President Anwar Sadat of Egypt on the side of imperialism-zionism, making him to defect the just cause of Arabs and to become an ally of imperialist-Zionist conspiracy. It is the greatest tragedy in the history of Arab nationalism. Egypt enjoyed the leadership of Arab resurgence. It was Egypt's great leader, Gamal Abdel Nasser who fathered resurgent Arab nationalism and gave it a revolutionary character. The revolution in Egypt inspired revolutions in Iraq, Syria, Libya, Algeria, Tunisia and Yemen, and the organised resistance of Palestine Arabs. This naturally caused consternation and alarm to the West. But it forgot that what spurred Arab nationalists to revolutionary action was its own blind backing to Zionism against Arabs and the latter's persecution and murder of Palestinian Arabs. Imperialism as usual put the policy of divide and rule in operation more vigorously, as had been predicted by Jawaharlal Nehru who while speaking in Lok Sabha on August 19, 1958 had said :

> "The major fact in West Asia is the growth of Arab nationalism in a very powerful, resurgent way. Egypt took the lead in this matter and, under the wise leadership of President Nasser, has played a very important part. Nasser, in fact became the most prominent symbol of Arab nationalism. This fact, which was patent, was neither liked nor appreciated by

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many powers, and an attempt was made to split the Arab countries, in fact, Arab nationalists."

Sadat was the chosen successor to Nasser, who prided to be the former's loyal compatriot. On assuming the leadership of Egypt, Sadat pledged to follow the path of Nasser. Addressing the Egyptian National Assembly as the candidate for Presidency, Sadat had pledged.

> "I came to you along the path of Gamal Abdel Nasser .....and if the vote of our masses in the general plebiscite will be 'yes' I shall consider this as an order to me to pursue the path of Gamal Abdel Nasser.....in all honesty."

Like Nasser, Sadat also initially prided his country's friendship with the Soviet Union, and even called it 'true spokesman of Arab nationalism". Sadat never gave a plausible cause why he broke away from the Soviet Union except that the latter had denied Egypt certain sophisticated weapons. But Sadat's own conduct has proved that even if this allegation was correct, Moscow was quite right in not trusting him. As later evidence came out, Sadat easily slipped into the hands of enemy. It is an established fact that Egypt lost the almost won victory in October 73 war because of the American space spying and because of Sadat's own miscalculation in granting open invitation to Dayan to strike at Egypt from the rear, by leaving a very strategic area almost unprotected.

Even before October 1973 war, Sadat was in touch with U.S. stooges in Saudi Arabia. Amidst this war he started quarrelling with Moscow and then spurned at every Soviet gesture and every counsel of sister Arab states, and went nearer and nearer to Washington.

In Sadat, Jimmy Carter saw the man he wanted to act as catalyst for his policy in West Asia. Although the dramatic statement of Sadat in Egyptian National Assembly on, November 9, 1977 about his plan to visit Israel as State guest, and land in Jerusalem which neither Egypt nor UN or any one else recognised as part of Israel, amazed the whole world and

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stunned the Arabs, it was not a sudden development. Sadat's "pursuit for peace" which ultimately proved a great triumph of President Carter and his Zionist patrons, had begun secretly long ago.

Despite frantic opposition by Arab people and passionate appeals by Arab leaders, Sadat went to Jerusalem and stipulated the following conditions for peace in West Asia while addressing the Knesset (Israeli Parliament) :—

> "First : Termination of the Israeli occupation of the Arab territories occupied in 1967.
>
> *Second : Achievement of the basic rights of Palestinian people and their right to self-determination including the right to establish their own state.
>
> *Third : The right of each State in the area to live in peace within secure borders guaranteed by agreed upon procedures that would ensure the proper security of international borders, in addition to appropriate international guarantees.
>
> *Fourth : All the States of the area should be committed to conduct their relations with one another, according to the aims and principles of the United Nations Charter particularly not to resort to the use of force, and to resolve any differences among them through peaceful means.
>
> *Fifth : Termination of the present state of belligerency in the area."

We know what has happened since. Sadat has made friends with number one and two enemies of Arabs, Israel and imperialism. He has established diplomatic and trade relations with Israel in face of unanimous opposition of the rest of Muslim world and also nonaligned and socialist worlds. He not only denounced the Soviet Union but even his late leader and mentor, President Nassar. In his autobiography, "*In Search Of Identity*, published in US A after his walk over to imperialist camp, he described Nasser as "pride stung, arrogant

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and suspicious man, a Soviet stooge." In exchange he got some occupied areas (not all) from Israel and some arms and dollars from U.S.A.

Sadat's peace mission has not brought peace but more tension to West Asia; the situation now being more explosive than ever before.

Not to speak of free Palestinian State, Israel is not prepared to grant even a farce of internal autonomy to Palestinians. On April 30,1980, the USA vetoed the U.N. Security Council resolution calling for establishment of Palestinian State.

Israel has committed a dozen major aggressions on Lebanon in utter disregard to U.N. sanctions, repudiating the second and third conditions stipulated by Sadat himself. It has attacked even U.N. peace keeping forces.

Sadat has violated his pledge for collective Arab-Israel peace and signed unilaterally a treaty with Zionists. This has not ended belligerency in the zone but only accentuated it.

While all Arab and Muslim States joined the chorus of condemnation of Sadat, all efforts to form a militant front against the Zionist-imperialist conspiracy failed. Countries like Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan and Oman have offered their bases, land routes and harbours for any U.S. military operation against revolutionary Iran and Afghanistan. Concentration in Persian Gulf of 37 U.S. heavy warships, some of them atomic powered and bearing nuclear arms, which also have 29,000 marine commandos on board, could not be possible for such a long time without active connivance of some states in the zone.

The true face of imperialism has been again unmasked by Iran. The Carter administration did everything to prop up Shah's regime in face of mass upsurge and to defeat the Iranian revolution. Then Shah had to flee, and Washington started its usual game of deception. It helped Shah and many of his accomplices to flee and secretly arranged for their asylum, but overtly discouraged the Shah from coming to the USA. Simultaneously, it began to make overtures to Khomeini with a

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view to alienate Iran from the Soviet Union. Then Reza Shah played his card and landed himself in New York for treatment. Iran sought his extradition, but Washington refused. The infuriated revolutionary students in Tehran occupied the U.S. Embassy and held its inmates as hostages. No doubt this is a serious breach of international law and violates decency in international relations. Nobody has supported Iran in this action, but it has to be considered in the background of arrogant behaviour of Washington and its own more serious violations of international law. It was obligatory for the USA to hand over the Shah to Iranian authorities. At worst, it could break relations with Iran and hold its diplomatic personnel in retaliation. Instead, Washington has been using hostage issue to create schism against Iran as to destroy Iranian revolution. It helped the Shah to "escape" to Panama and from there to Sadat's Egypt, when U.N. Commission had almost solved the issue of hostages. It had planned invasion of Iran simultaneously with putsch in Kabul, but the failure of the latter forced a postponement of the former. It has freezed all Iranian assets in the USA running into six billion dollars, and imposed economic blockade against it. The U.S. forced its Western allies also to join the mad Jehad against Iran, and then it made an abortive attempt of massive commando attack on Iran to free hostages. All this shows that Washington wants to destroy Iranian revolution and is ready to sacrifice the lives of innocent hostages for the purpose. If hostages are still in Iran it is because Carter wants them there. A simple expression of regret for U.S. patronage of the former Shah, which is very much called for even otherwise, would have solved the hostage problem months ago.

Why are countries like Saudi Arabia and Oman blindly following Washington line even against sister Islamic countries ? Because U.S. imperialism holds them by neck. The entire oil wealth of Saudi Arabia, running into billions of dollars is deposited or invested in the USA, and interest and dividends earned on this colossal fortune is enough to meet all expenses of Saudi Government and luxuries of its fabulous Sheikhs. While these billions of dollars boost U.S. capitalist economy,

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hundreds of thousands of Beduins of Saudi Arabia, mostly nomads live in poverty, ignorance and squalor. If the U.S.A. freezes these assets also like those of Iran, what can Saudi Arabia's King and Sheikhs do ? They know the real character of friendship of imperialism with Muslim countries, but having put their necks in the noose, they can not pull it back.

The above facts give a good idea of what the West has done to Islam and Muslim. Yet, after the failure of its "Operation-Scuttle-Afghanistan", Washington-Peking axis has been posing as defender of Islam. Only a few years back, not only the press of Pakistan and other Muslim countries but also Western especially American press used to be full of stories about the calamities that befell on Muslims in China, who number over forty million and about their persecution and suppression. Tens of thousands of them were annihilated and mosques razed to the ground, and even worship at home was banned. But now both Chinese chauvinism and U.S. imperialism are posing themselves as defenders of Islam !

The official American Centre in New Delhi issued to the press a "Backgrounder" on March 4, 1980, according to which Dr. Richard Ramnek, who is described as political scientist and an expert on Soviet Affairs, claims that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was motivated not by the desire to reach Persian Gulf and grab its oil, as was contented by President Carter and his advisers, but by the anxiety "caused by spread of fundamentalist Islamic movement." The learned doctor according to the hand-out further claims that "the resurgence of Islam in Iran for example, could have sympathetic reverberation on the other side of the border." What an original research !

The learned doctor should know that Islam and capitalist imperialism have nothing in common while there is so much common between Islam and communism. Let him read Indian Muslim revolutionary, Maulana Barkatullah's book "*Islam and Bolshevism*". Both creeds are against feudalism, monarchy and exploitation. Thousands of Muslim scholars and divines have been attracted to communism or socialism but none to American capitalism. Score of books have been published in

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the USA and West Europe which are full of most obscene attacks on Islam and its prophet. Has a single such book or even a newspaper article been ever published in the Soviet Union ?

If the U.S. imperialism is so solicitous about Islam and thinks that Islamic movement of Iran or any other country would affect Soviet Muslims and they would revolt, why has the USA opposed Islamic revolution of Iran ? Why is it still trying to destroy it ? And why did USA at first allege that Iran's Islamic revolution was Soviet inspired ? Whom to believe, President Carter or Dr. Ramnek ? It is of course true that Soviet Union sympathised with Iranian progressives and supported the revolution whole heartedly.

The fact of the matter is that like the followers of every religion everywhere, there are two kinds of Muslims. The vast majority who try to follow the basic tenets, and a very small minority of feudal lords, exploiters and opperessive rulers, also their lackeys, who by their individual conduct can be called 'infidels'. It is the latter type of Muslims whom the imperialism patronises and uses as puppets. The US puppet, ex-Shah of Iran, got killed thousands of the citizens all of whom were Muslims. His most feared secret police SAVAK was trained by Israeli experts. Whom does Sadat represent or for that matter rulers of Saudi Arabia and other feudal states ? Certainly not their people. Progressive republics of Libya, Syria, Algeria, Iraq, P.L.O., South Yemen, Iran and Afghanistan are more Islamic than puppet regimes of Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Oman and others.

The USA harmed every progressive Muslim State and opposed every Muslim revolutionary movements, whereas the Soviet Union supported and helped them all. Soon after the victory of Great October Revolution, Lenin issued a Declaration of Rights, in which Muslim of East, Arab and Turks also Indians (Hindus and Muslim), were promised full support for their just struggles for freedom, and the Soviet Union has consistently abided by the pledge. The real fear of the USA is that progressive Muslim States are gaining strength and

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together they may be able to repeat Iranian revolution in the countries whose regimes are imperialist puppets.

In the historical perspective the conflict between the progressive and reactionary Muslim regimes is inevitable. The process of the change cannot be stopped. Yet, the latter are resisting it, and while doing so, they are trying to harm or destroy the progressive regimes because the vested interests of the reactionary regimes see in them a potential danger. Consequently, the progressive ones have to take steps to defend themselves. They also can not but have sympathy with the struggling but suppressed masses under the reactionary regimes. Hence, the conflict which admirably suits imperialist-Zionist combination which cannot but back the reactionary side. As long as this triangle exists in the West Asia, there will be no real peace there.

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8

Troubled Waters, Troubled Spots

"I ploughed furrows in the Ocean.
We have ploughed the seas."

—Simon Bolivar

"I believe in power. But I believe that responsibility should go with power."

—Theodore Roosevelt

"The task today is secure for the USA as many strategically important points on the globe as possible."

——Prof. J. Koffer in "Beyond Vietnam"

THE end of the Second World War only ended one phase of larger world conflict. A new conflict, in fact, a continuation of old conflict between imperialism and colonialism on the one hand and the socialists and liberation movements on the other, started even before the din of guns faded away in Europe and

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atomic dust began to settle down in Japan. The imperialists tried to foist back colonial rule over territories where patriotic forces had organised powerful resistance against Nazi or Japanese occupation and had played a decisive role in the liberation of their countries. The former, for instance, wanted the so-called governments in exile, the corrupt cliques of the old order to be reinvested with power in their domains. They also wanted the colonial set up in Indonesia, Malaysia, Burma, Indo-China and elsewhere reinstated, and they indeed did so, ignoring the radical changes produced by the war and organised mass upsurge in these territories. There were also other vast territories in Asia and Africa under colonial rule, where also people were struggling with greater vigour for their emancipation.

The paradoxical outcome of this World War was that self-styled champion of free-world, the USA came out as the supporter and defender of colonialism, and in turn exposed its own imperialist tenacles. To cover up its own designs, the USA launched cold war against the Soviet Union after accussing it of "annexing" East Europe. What actually happened was that since socialists and radicals had organised partisan resistance against Nazis, they won peoples' support and respect, and were able to launch and build Socialist States in their liberated countries. They are friendly and cooperative with the Soviet Union but to call them Soviet satellites was deliberate slander. Didn't communist movement gain strength even in Western Europe, France, Italy, Holland and latter in Portugal especially, despite all restrictions and repression ?

The real dilemma before the axis of capitalism of the USA and colonialism of Europe was that the war weakened the latter while the Soviet Union emerged out of the fire and blood bath much stronger than they had dreamt. And the growing tempo of liberation movements in the tottering empires and radical movements in the Western countries and the USA itself (there was strong popular resentment against the dangers of nuclear war) forced the axis to engenerate cold war, the characteristcs of which are local wars (needed also to keep the colossal US war industry in boom) and tension and slander. To justify

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cold war the imperialist propaganda depicted in fantastic terms what John Foster Dulles described as "The Unholy union of Marx's Communism and Russia's Imperialism." The terms like "position of strength", "agonising reappraisal", (volte face) brinkmanship and the like came into vogue. But the real design behind the cold war was confessed by Dulles himself as early as in 1948, when he said in his book, '*War and Peace*', "In United States great emphasis is being placed upon achieving military supremacy and military counsels are more influential than has normally been the case in the Republic."

In the same book Dulles conceded, 'What has given Soviet Communism its tremendous influence over men everywhere in the world ? It is the moral slogans which they have adopted and expressed". Calling them hypocrisy, Dulles uttered such invectives as "black plague of Soviet Communism" described it as "slimy octopus-like tenacles", and "an evil faith which we hate."

Thus, building it on such blind hate and prejudice, which now President Carter is imitating, the cold war was waged through the engineering of local wars and conflicts, all aimed at weakening and destroying patriotic, socialists and progressive forces, all over the world.

But men like Dulles, despite all the power they wielded and resources they commanded, could not prevent natural evolution of the history. The colonial imperialism had to give up its biggest prize, India, soon after the end of war, and later many other territories also won their freedom after further struggle. Empires crumbled fast and the emerging Third World adopted nonalignment which Dulles had branded as "immoral". Dulles ended as a failure. But cold war never ended entirely. The thaw and detente in between proved unstable phenomena because trouble spots and troubled waters remained there, which have caused the fresh spell of cold war, which with China's participation on the American side has assumed a new and more sinister form.

The Indian Ocean has become, instead of a zone of peace, as most littoral countries and all peace loving people all over

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the world wanted, the most explosive region. The expansion and modernisation of the most potential naval fortress, Deigo Garcia has been completed. It harbours aircraft carriers with jet planes of the range of 3700 kms., and other warships armed with nuclear weapons. It will handle B-52 long range bombers used for carrying nuclear bombs. On the base are based nuclear and other submarines, which among others can use Polaris missiles. From this base massive forces can be dispatched to any littoral country within less than 48 hours, while previously it could take more than a week. Besides, it has been turned into formidable aerial and space spying centre with direct monitoring links with U.S. bases in South Africa, Australia, New Zealand and Oman.

India, I may remind you is only 1500 kms. away from Deigo Garcia.

On the other hand, since the overthrow of Shah of Iran, and subsequent events, the U.S.A. has been feverishly concentrating better part of its naval might in Persian Gulf zone. With Fifth Fleet already brought into being with Deigo Garcia as its headquarters and a special task force of 1,10,000 marines armed with everything needed in air, sea and land for a massive sea borne invasion, the USA has also brought into this zone over 37 other large warships including aircraft carriers, also nuclear submarines. All this concentration of military might in Indian Ocean cannot be and is not for defence purposes only and what has the USA to defend ?

For a long time the U.S. propaganda has been trying to feed world public opinion with concoction about the presence of Soviet naval forces in the Ocean and threat to shipping lines and oil routes. The Soviet Union has repeatedly pointed out that it has no base in this ocean. The U.S. could never prove the charge that the USSR had any such naval bases. Some time it was alleged that Soviet Union enjoyed facilities in Indian harbours. But the lie was soon eaten. Then some base in South Yemen was named. But the allegation only proved a cover for US bases in Muscat (Oman) and one in North Yemen. The Soviet Union has done nothing more than carrying out usual

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cruises across the high seas, and this strictly according to international law, or goodwill visit of naval ships to different friendly countries which are a normal practice.

The other plea of safeguarding of oil and trade routes is absurd. In the first place, there has been no attack on or interruption of these routes. In the second place, you do not use atomic war ships and submarines to protect merchant shipping in the peace time.

On the other hand, the Soviet Union has been one of the greatest supporters of making Indian Ocean a zone of peace, and in pursuance of the UN resolution and respecting the wishes of littoral nations, it carried on four rounds of talks with the USA to achieve this end. But since February 1978, when last round was held in Vienna, Washington evaded repeated offers by the Soviet Union for resuming the talks. The last such communication was sent by Moscow only a few days before attempted CIA putsch in Kabul. As late as January 1979, President Carter had conceded the usefulness of the Indian Ocean talks and described the problem of "freezing the military presence" in Indian Ocean as one of the fields in which "the USSR and the USA could have constructive cooperation".

But instead of constructive cooperation with the Soviet Union and peace loving nations belonging to the zone, the USA has embarked upon destructive arms race and creating a military steel ring from Japan to New Zealand and from New Zealand to South Africa encircling the entire Indian Ocean zone. In the heart of the Ocean is Deigo Garcia from which over forty nations can be hit with missiles and thirty invaded by sea borne troops.

No more is Indian Ocean "neglected" or "outlying". It has become too volatile strategically, militarily and economically. Indian Ocean has assumed immense importance to the West both for its economic needs and for global strategy under which Washington wants to dominate almost the entire world.

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The third biggest, the Indian Ocean is area wise roughly equal to total area of Asian and African continents and provides the main connecting link between Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Sea routes linking Europe, East Africa, South and East Africa, South and South East Asia, Far East, Australia and Oceania pass through it. The Ocean is rich in mineral and oil deposits, and marine foods. The littoral countries which from the Indian Ocean region are the biggest source of raw material for the West especially.

This region accounts for 80.7 per cent of world extraction of gold, 56.6 per cent tin, 28.5 per cent manganese, 25.2 per cent nickle, 18.5 per cent bauxites, 12.5 per cent zinc and 77.3 per cent natural rubber.

The role of the ocean tremendously grows, considering that there are large oil-bearing regions on its coasts ; potential deposits of oil and gas at present comprise more than half of the world's deposits. In this connection, the coastal shelves and other areas of its bottom acquire great prospecting significance. Iron-manganese concretions and concretions of phosphorites, metal-containing silts, brine and alumina are considered potential mineral resources of the deep-water regions at the bottom.

About one-fourth of the entire cargo carried in world marine trade and about two-thirds of oil, are loaded or unloaded in the ports of Indian Ocean. The main cargoes are made up of oil, iron ore, pit coal, kernel, bauxites and alumina, among others.

According to the available information, 56 per cent vessels passing through the Indian Ocean in 1974 belonged to the NATO countries. Up to 20,000 vessels sail through the Red Sea and the Suez Canal in two directions annually. During the period of the closure of the Suez Canal, the intensity of shipments around the Cape of Good Hope in South of Africa reached, for instance, 70 ships a day, that is, 25,550 ships per year. And now, about one million tonnes of oil is carried every day in this direction.

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The straits of Indian Ocean are of great significance for international navigation. Ten thousand vessels a year pass through the Bab-el-Mandeb Straits ; the intensity of movement of vessels in the Malacca Straits is 140 vessels a day, while in Muscat, it is 80 to 85 vessels on an average, with the expectation of an increase to 180 vessels by 1980.

In the west of Indian Ocean are located 36 states whose population makes up a third of the entire mankind. An overwhelming majority of them belongs to the developing countries. They provide 90 per cent of all the world's production of rubber, tea, tin and jute, and possess large deposits of oil, gold, silver, diamond, uranium, copper, manganese, cobalt, coal and many other minerals.

In beginning of the sixties, the dying British imperialism played a ruse. It declared its (military) withdrawal from East of Suez due to loss of most of the colonies. Still, it continued its strategic presence in Singapore to guard Straits of Malacca, and at Masriah (Oman) and Aden. It also had access to South African bases. Actually it transferred the main imperialist "burden" in respect of this Ocean to the USA which keenly stepped in the so-called vacuum. Apart from the bases it has created near the Ocean way back in 1949, the USA got naval and airbase of Bahrain in Persian Gulf from Britain. Similarly, Simonstown and Cape Town bases in South Africa have also been under the U.S. use

Apart from raw material, oil and strategic bases, the Western powers have other stakes also in this region. American capital investment in the Indian Ocean zone has exceeded 10 billion dollars. British private investments in the countries of the Persian Gulf and South East Asia account for more than a billion pounds sterlings, or over 60 per cent of all the British capital abroad. Profits earned from the invested capital often touch more than 15 per cent. The prospect of squeezing higher profits in the shortest possible period through the exploitation of cheap labour and rich mineral resources has attracted West German, Japanese, Italian, French, Israeli and other monopolists to the countries of the Indian Ocean basin.

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According to various assessments, beginning from 1980, the countries of Western Europe will be purchasing a billion tonnes of oil, and Japan 600 million tonnes in this region. Japan buys in the countries of the Indian Ocean zone 75 per cent of her iron ore requirements, 35 per cent of coking coal, and 90 percent of bauxites, zinc and natural rubber. The USA imports about 40 types of raw materials, including Uranium, Lithium Berilium, Zirconium and other strategic materials. It purchases in the countries of the Persian Gulf about 25 per cent of all the oil consumed by it ; and from 1980 its expenditure on oil will come to about ten billion dollars. Besides, the US imports from Africa include 35 percent of its diamonds, 30 per cent coffee, as much platinum, 20 percent mercury, 40 percent manganese and 47 percent chromium. A considerable part of the minerals needed by the USA is extracted in South Africa.

The USA has already asserted its "right" to use force if any or all West Asian countries refused it oil supplies, and has backed the assertion by its characteristic demonstration of gun boat diplomacy. The use of force, it is claimed, would be justified for protecting any other imperialist right which always has been based on might. Between 1972-79 the USA has resorted to such use of force 18 times.

The suggestion for declaring Indian Ocean as zone of peace had been first made during Bandung Conference when Prime Ministers Nehru and Chou-En Lai had together chatted with pressman. Both had approved the idea. It was, however, in 1964 that Sri Lanka made first formal move in the second conference of nonaligned nations for declaring Indian Ocean as zone of peace. Accepting this in principle, the Conference declared :

> "Preservation or creation of foreign bases and deployment of foreign troops on the territories of other states despite their expressed will, is considered by the Conference as the greatest violation of the sovereignty of these countries and a threat to their freedom and international peace. Still less justified is the further creation of military bases on the dependent territories which

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could be used for supporting colonialism or other aims of the ruling power. The Conference condemns the manifest intention of the imperialist powers to create bases in the Indian Ocean region as an attempt to intimidate the young countries of Asia and Africa and to illegally spread the policy of neocolonialism and imperialism in this region....."

Sri Lanka got the resolution endorsed in the 3rd conference of nonaligned nations in 1970 and also presented a memorandum to the Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference in January 1971. Same year, the United Nations General Assembly session (No. 26) passed the resolution No. 2832 with an overwhelming majority according to which "Indian Ocean within those limits that need definition, together with the air space over it and the sea bottom beneath it" is "proclaimed for all times a zone of peace". The resolution urged the great powers to immediately start consultations with the littoral states for the purpose of "liquidating in the Indian Ocean region all bases, military installations and means of logistics, so that it did not become a place of deployment of nuclear weapons and the mass annihilation weapons, as well as a place of any manifestation of military presence of great powers following the rivalry between them."

The twenty eight session of U. N. General Assembly set up a 15 nation special committee to study and work out practical measures for achieving the aims of this resolution "with proper consideration of the interests of security of the coastal and mainland states of Indian Ocean basin and the interest of any other state in accordance with the principles of the U.N. Charter."

Meanwhile, the USA had acquired Deigo Garcia from Britain, an island of Chagos archipelago which belonged to Mauritius but which Britain kept it under its own control even after freeing that country. The entire population of this 25 km. by 5 kms. Island has been ejected by force. While the world was told that America needed it for refuelling, the real designs, carried out quickly, did not remain secret. Almost all

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littoral nations vehemently protested against this aggressive and dangerous project.

The fifth nonaligned conference at Colombo held from August 15 to 19, 1976, condemned the "creation, preservation and expansion of such foreign and imperialist bases and installations as the base on the Deigo Garcia Island." It called for "liquidating the existing foreign bases and military facilities which threaten or can threaten territorial integrity, peaceful and progressive development of other states of this region, or are used for hindering the self-determination by the peoples this region."

The 32nd session of the UN General Assembly (1977) adopted with an overwhelming majority votes, the special resolution which stressed the necessity of implementing the Declaration of Proclaiming the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace.

In face of this universal demand, the USA adopted the approach of duplicity. The Carter Administration admitted the "need of demilitarisation" of Indian Ocean and offered its cooperation for "establishment of peace and stablity there," also to facilitate "the improvement of living conditions of the people of Asia". Accordingly, to keep up the pretence, the US Government held four rounds of talks with the Soviet Union which received world wide acclamation.

But Pentagon exposed the actual plans behind Carter's subterfuge. The former Chief of the U.S. Naval Staff, Admiral Zumwalt rejected peace zone plan as impracticable and said that for maintaining the balance of global power, the USA had no choice than to control the approaches to the Atlantic Ocean, Western Pacific Ocean, Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean. Carter's Defence Secretary Harold Brown in a speech in Los Angeles on February 20, 1978, defending the role the USA as a "global power" asserted that it could not be strong in Europe and weak in Asia. Brown stressed that the opinion about the exit of the United States from Asia..."was a wrong understanding of the US policy". and that the American "obligations" in this part of the world were firm.

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The USSR has more legitimate interests involved in Indian Ocean than the USA or any other power. For the Soviet Union, the Indian Ocean is the only round the year open marine communication link between its European and Asian parts. For no other country of the world does the transit through the Indian Ocean play such a vital role. Yet, the Soviet has sought neither military bases nor control over this Ocean or any other sea ; it believes in free and unfettered right of navigation for all nations.

Refuting the "Soviet menace" canard of the West, President Brezhnev told West German Weekly *Forvert* recently :

> "Frankly speaking it seems to me that those who are at present fanning in the West the cooked up campaign about the 'Soviet military menace', in reality think about something different...I shall remind you, first of all, of a simple fact : The Soviet Union has more than 40,000 kms. of sea border. In these conditions, when the NATO countries have at their disposal powerful offensive means in the seas, we are bound to think about corresponding defence in this sphere, too. We have set up our ocean fleet which is capable of fulfilling the task of such a defence. This fleet does not excel the fleet of the Western countries in might, and from the viewpoint of structure, obviously carries a defensive character."

Apart from consistently supporting in UN and other forums the nonaligned nations' demand for turning Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, the Soviet Union has joined these nations at the time of the visit of every top Soviet leader to any of these countries or their leaders' visits to Soviet Union, and through joint communiques supported their demands on Indian Ocean. Many Indo-Soviet joint communiques testify this. Such a communique issued on June 12, 1979 said :

> "India and the Soviet Union reaffirm their readiness to cooperate for the implementation of the UN Declaration on the establishment of the Indian Ocean as a

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> zone of peace. They call once again for dismantling the foreign military and naval bases existing in the area and preventing the creation of such new bases there, and condemn any attempts to build up foreign military presence in the Indian Ocean under any pretext whatsoever. The Indian side highly appreciates the readiness, of the Soviet Union to resume bilateral talks with the US on the question of the Indian Ocean."

Earlier on June 11, 1971, Brezhnev had said, "We never considered and do not consider as ideal the position where military fleets of great powers ply for a long time in far-distant seas from their coasts. And we are ready to solve this problem, but to solve, as they say, as equals. On the basis of such principles the Soviet Union is ready to discuss any proposals."

Brezhnev, addressing members of the Indian Parliament during his visit to India in 1973, bracketed the proposal about the transformation of Indian Ocean into a peace zone, with "interesting initiatives inspired by the concern about peaceful future of Asia." The joint Soviet-Indian Declaration of November 29, 1973 said : "Both sides confirm their readiness to participate together with all the interested states on equal basis in seeking favourable solution to the question of turning the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace."

In a memorandum submitted to the 31th session of UN Assembly (1976) Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko said :

> "While solving at such a plane the question of foreign military bases, the Soviet Union would be ready together with other states to seek ways towards reducing on mutual basis the military activity of non-coastal states in the Indian Ocean and the regions directly contiguous to it...
>
> "We consider it as reasonable the desire of a number of Asian and African states to turn the Indian Ocean into a peace zone. The key question here is that there

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be no foreign military bases in this region representing the basic element of permanent military presence. As for the Soviet Union, it never had, nor does have any intention of building its bases in the Indian Ocean..."

It has also to be noted that some definite progress had been made in the USA-USSR talks over Indian Ocean. In its proposals presented to the special session of U.N. General Assembly on disarmament, the Soviet Union noted, "the degree of progress achieved at the US-USSR talks, about which both sides regularly inform the UNO through the Special Committee of the UN on Indian Ocean, confirms the reality of working out full understanding. For this, it is necessary to intensify the talks, without allowing unjustifiably long intervals which only drag their solution."

But after fourth round of the USA-USSR talks at Vienna (February 1978) in which drafting of the points of agreement was decided, as to make further efforts to resolve the points of disagreement, the USA has refused to resume talks, and, meanwhile, turned the whole Ocean especially Persian Gulf area into a boiling cauldron.

But troubled spots and troubled waters are not confined to Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf alone. The USA has more than 300 major military bases in other foreign countries which support its active military presence in 30 countries. Each of these bases can be a triggering off point. Of these US bases, 60 are in Europe, 25 in Asia and 12 in Pacific region. Three new military pacts are on the anvil to ring the Indian and Pacific Oceans' from all sides. One is METO (Middle East Treaty Organisation) embracing Egypt, Israel, Sudan, Somalia, North Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Oman. Efforts are on to rope in Persian Gulf States and monopolise Arabian Sea by the West.

On the other side ANZUS which embraces the USA, Australia and New Zealand is to be expanded and cover the entire zone up to Japan. Every effort is being made to rope in ASEAN nations in it. Another military bloc, SATO (South

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Africa Treaty Organisation) is aimed at the racist regime of South Africa and others in the vicinity that can be enticed.

Collaboration by Maoist China has added another dimension to the explosive situation. Not only has China multiplied its naval and merchant shipping tonnage four times but it has supported the increased presence of U.S. naval might both in Pacific and Indian Ocean. Even little Soviet presence is a "grave danger" for Peking. By this policy China wants to emerge as the biggest and strongest Eastern power, the helmsman of Asia. It has been telling Asian nations that the USA could not be forced out of Indian Ocean. Now defence arrangements among the U.S.A., China and Japan have been formally acknowledged.

Billions of dollars worth U.S. modern arms are being poured into South Africa, Oman, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Gulf States, the Philippines and South Korea. Little Oman was given arms aid worth 350 million dollars last year. South Africa got 45 million dollars to expand Simonstown naval base alone so that 50 warships could be anchored there simultaneously.

Now a new crisis is developing in South China sea. Hua Guofeng Government has claimed 200 small islands in this sea as its 'lost territory' and intends to occupy them. Already it has occupied some of the Parcel Islands in 1973 and 1979 which is the cause of serious friction between it and Indonesia, and Vietnam. By controlling these islands Peking wants to control whole of Chinese seas and also the entrance to Indian Ocean. These islands and shallow waters, which may have large oil deposits too, are claimed by Indonesia, Malasiya, the Philippines, Vietnam and Thailand also. Indonesia has given contracts to three US companies to explore 25,000 sq. km. area for oil deposits in these waters. Thus, a multi-national clash over this vast disputed sea having hundreds of islands is imminent. The USA is involved by virtue of its defence treaty with the Philippines. The situation is getting more confused every day.

Further in north, the USA has considerably increased its military and economic aid to the puppet regime of South Korea

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which has become shaky since the assassination of President Park Chung. Instead of withdrawing its forces from South Korea, as promised earlier, their strength has been augmented. When Park was gunned down by his own Security Chief, the USA lost no time to stage gun boat diplomacy manoeuvre to threaten the Korean People's Democratic Republic in the North, lest it should intervene, although there was absolutely no such danger. Now, open rebellion has broken out in South Korea.

That is the imperialist way of creating 'stability' for unpopular puppet regimes. When the Shah of Iran was struggling hard against the revolutionaries, President Carter had then also claimed that the Shah was a "stabilising force and working for stability". He had evaded the question on total denial of human rights in Iran. But where is that stability now ? Will it last longer in the Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Oman (where the Shah had sent his forces to crash popular rebellion) or Somalia ?

The troubled waters and troubled spots are bound to burst if you don't spread soothing oil over them.

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9

Erupting Volcanoes

"We got into our Vietnam predicament largely because of misapprehensions about ourselves and the world that were widely held throughout American society in the 1950s as well as into 60s....."

—Edwin D. Reischaner in 'Beyond Vietnam'

"For a long time, I was convinced that the Chinese leaders were guilty of serious errors.....Now I am absolutely certain that these were not errors but a policy of deliberate betrayal of internationalism and of alliance with imperialism."

—Fidel Castro (May, 1977)

"It is not struggle between the United States and Iran, it is struggle between Islam and infidels—The US does not seem to realise it is fighting God."

—Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini

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IN Afghanistan the U.S. ruling clique has lost its game. That is clear from the impotent rage it has been demonstrating ever since December 27,1979, when the C.I.A. putsch in Kabul was nipped in the bud before it could be attempted. The imperialism cannot start a major war there. But there are two other trouble spots——indeed erupting volcanoes emitting smouldering lava, where a major world conflagration can be triggered off either intentionally or accidentally. These are Vietnam and Iran, two of the major focal points in the current cold war. Both are in close proximity of India, the former in the north-east and latter in the north-west.

Indeed, the most sordid and sensational aerial piracy staged by the Carter Administration over Iran, in a bid to lift hostages by the most bizarre commando attack, if it had not proved abortive on its own, would have certainly led to local or big war, and perhaps to the death of all the hostages. Did Carter want their massacre to create a pretext for massive invasion on Iran ostensibly to "punish" the "killers" of hostages but actually to occupy the country? But let us first take Vietnam.

This Indo-China state formed the biggest front of the last cold war, which remained hot from the beginning to the fade out of that cold war. The detente came to Europe only after American forces were finally pulled out from South Vietnam. The current cold war also started from the day China launched major offensive aggression on Vietnam, using about 6,00,000 troops and hundreds of tanks against a small country which was still healing deep wounds inflicted by the thirty-year war with the biggest power and its lackeys. But the Maoist thrust did not go deeper than immediate border areas because the hardened like steel small nation put up a tough resistance against the bully, so much so, that it had to declare a ceasefire. The ploy used on Indian border in 1962 was repeated by Peking rulers on Vietnam border in early 1979.

In the last cold war, China was apparently on the side of Vietnam till she did not completely break with the Soviet Union, but apart from lip sympathy and symbolic gestures, it

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did nothing to help Vietnam against the USA imperialism, against which Peking was then making too much noise. Despite appeals from Hanoi and other socialist capitals, Peking did not commit a single soldier of its own in Vietnam war because it was terribly afraid of US counter attack from Taiwan. It also did nothing to liberate that island stronghold of Komintang, which is still there, despite Sino-American normalisation and collusion.

In the last phase of Vietnam war, when Peking had turned totally hostile to the USSR and had established secret collusion with Washington, also when all its overtures and pressures had failed to bring Hanoi under its orbit of influence, the Maoist regime not only stopped the passage of supplies sent from the Soviet Union to Vietnam through its territory but also tried its best to prevent total American withdrawal from Vietnam. Mao Tse-tung himself pleaded for this with Washington overtly and covertly.

Not even a year had passed after the final victory of Vietnamese people over the US imperialism, that Peking became openly hostile to the reunified and fully liberated Vietnam. Even America offered aid for rehabilitating the badly war torn country, but when Mao failed to persuade the USA to maintain a limited military presence in Vietnam and also persuade Ho Chi Minh to turn against "Soviet revisionism and hegemonism", (Peking had made strong but unsuccessful efforts to make Hanoi accept the "condition for peace" which was letting one of major South Vietnamese ports in American hands) she began to treat it like a despised enemy.

According to the US journalist and writer Jay Tylor, "By 1970 there was no compelling political or ideological reasons for China to maintain militant stand against the United States and deny itself the opportunities to achieve its objective." By 1972, Peking-Washington collusion, consequent to Kissinger's visit to Peking was complete. In 1973, Peking staged the first aggressive act against Vietnam when it captured three of Vietnamese Parcel Islands by well-known Chinese

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sneak aggression methods. Only two years earlier Chou En-lai had said on April 24, 1971;

> "That the Vietnamese people waged a war of resistance, shed their blood and endured sacrifices on the frontline of the struggle against American imperialism was a mighty help to the Chinese people engaged in socialist revolution and construction. Comrades, the Chinese people must thank you. As for Chinese aid to your struggle against American aggression, for national salvation and your building of socialism, it is a proletarian internationalist obligation that we cannot shirk and must fulfil."

From this it would appear that change in Chinese attitude over Vietnam was sudden. But actually it was the result of deep rooted design to grab entire South East Asia. Many years earlier in 1965 Mao-Tse-tung had told Chinese Political Bureau :

> "We must gain possession of South East Asia, including South Vietnam, Thailand, Burma, Malaysia and Singapore .....Such a region as South East Asia is very rich. There are very many natural resources. It is well worth the expense involved in gaining possession of it, in view of our strategic designs. This region is not only rich in natural and human resources but also occupies an important strategic position commanding the sea routes linking two oceans. Besides, here American presence is declining."

In case of Vietnam also Peking rulers adopted the same modus operandi to pursue their aggressive plans as in case of their other victims. When it became clear to them that Socialist Vietnam was not going to play to their tunes, they staked claims over one third of Vietnam, simply because some people of Chinese origin also live there, and in some border areas they have majority. These people are called Hoas, and most of them are of mixed Chinese and Vietnamese stock. Under the old order they were a privileged class, because they owned much of the land and dominated trade and industry. The

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socialist revolution naturally deprived them of much of their vested interests. The affluent minority of them bore a grudge against Socialist Vietnam. The Peking ruling Maoists who claim to be exponents of perfect communism, became patrons of their vested interests and used them as tools. Peking in fact is trying to use overseas Chinese everywhere as its tools, by playing their strong kinsmanship to further its hegemonism. The Overseas Chinese Affairs Office of the Peking regime has in fact told them repeatedly :-

> "Wherever they are, the overseas Chinese are our friends, our comrades", and "The overseas Chinese and our friends who hold foreign citizenships but have kinship ties with us are not to be kept away from the united anti-hegemoinst front."

The open Peking inspired subversion made the Hoas raise such slogans as, "Although the Hoas live in Vietnam, their hearts are with China." Each Hoa was "entrusted with historical mission to spread Mao-thought", which was nothing but carrying on open subversive activities against the Hanoi Government.

As early as 1957-58, the Chinese Communist Party had entered into solemn agreement with the Vietnamese Workers Party under which both sides agreed to respect the border between the two countries delineated earlier. Yet, from 1973 onwards the violations of Vietnamese border by Chinese forces continued to increase year after year. On land border there were 294 violations in 1975, 812 in 1976, 873 in 1977, and 584 in 1978. There were a total of about 1500 violations from sea and there were also 100 violations of the air space.

When Chinese puppet regime of Kampuchea headed by Pol Pot and Ieng Sari clique faced massive revolt by the people, who had the sympathy and support of Vietnamese people because the tottering regime was receiving Chinese and American arms, and led by Chinese experts, was carrying out a systematic genocide, the "human rights champions" in Washington had not a single word of condemnation against these oppressors, although

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American press had also published harrowing accounts of bloody crimes of Pol Pot regime.

As more and more areas of Kampuchea were liberated by revolutionaries headed by Heng Samrin, Peking began to spread false stories of atrocities on the Hoa in Vietnam and their migration to China. On May 24 1978, the spokesman of the Overseas Chinese Affairs Office made this declaration to the *New China News Agency*: "Vietnam has taken measures for ostracizing, persecuting and expelling Chinese people". Propaganda machinery was set in motion to complain and protest against the "tragic fate of the victimized Chinese residents in Vietnam."

As Pol Pot regime collapsed in Pnom Pneh, Washington-Peking axis raised a big hue and cry against Vietnamese "aggression" on Kampuchea, whereas the truth was that some Vietnamese troops went to help the formally established Government of free Kampuchea because thousands of Chinese had infiltrated in to help the fallen Pol Pot clique back to the pedstal of power. China immediately mobilised almost a million of its troops on Vietnamese border, and began to threaten "punishment".

Before launching the massive aggression on Vietnam on February 17, 1979, the new strong man of China, Deng Xiaoping visited the USA, about three weeks earlier, where he hatched the conspiracy with President Carter to occupy Vietnam. At the same time the U.S. press published stories about the return of U.S. "presence" in Indo-China, and deft playing by Washington of its "China card". While overtly Washington expressed 'concern' over Chinese moves, covertly Peking's aggression on Vietnam was actually the American game.

Deng Xiaoping told American journalists: "Yes, China has mustered forces along the border with Vietnam, as you already know. If we don't give the Vietnamese the necessary lessne it will lead to evil consequences." (*New China News Agency, January 31, 1979*).

Chinese Vice-Premier, Li Hsien-nien said in the same vein, "We must warn Vietnam against turning a deaf ear to our words." (*New China News Agency February 11, 1979*).

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Finally, on February 17, Chinese invasion on 1500 Kms. border was launched. The brains behind the invasion had anticipated better part of Vietnam falling within week or ten days, but despite the use of 16 divisions of army and 300 tanks, the Chinese penetration was not more than 15 to 20 kms. anywhere. The Vietnamese resistance was tough and everyday it became more tough. The Chinese suffered heavy casualities. And when the Vietnamese began to counter attack, also despite this invasion on Vietnam, which forced withdrawal of most troops from Kampuchea, the Pol Pot bandits and Chinese mercenaries failed to make any dent in Kampuchea, the Chinese invaders fell back in Vietnam and declared ceasefire on their own. However, considerable Vietnamese border areas are still under Chinese occupation.

There have been negotiations between Peking and Hanoi on this issue but these failed in view of well-known Chinese intransigence. Now, Peking has again started threatening fresh 'punitive' aggression. But Hanoi has served notice that if all peaceful efforts fail, it will counter-attack to liberate its territory. While Peking's threats sound hollow (because any fresh advanture by it might spark of a world war) we know that Vietnamese are a determined people who will not rest till the integrity of their country is not restored.

A brief mention of Kampuchea is also called for. When the Pol Pot clique gained power with Peking's connivance it began to liquidate all opponents of Chinese overlordship. The mass killing and other anti-people crimes led to revolt and liberation of province after province. Only when a majority of provinces were liberated the Provisional Peoples' Government was formed with Heng Samrin at its head. He is the leader of revolution who led the people's resistance movement to the complete victory. Pol Pot clique is operating like bandits (like Naga and and Mizo hostiles trained and armed by China) in some remote border pockets close to China from where they get arms, and other help. All progressive Governments have recognised the new Government. Now, Mrs. Gandhi's Government has, as promised, recognised the Government headed by Heng Samrin. New Delhi had de-recognised Pol-Pot regime long ago.

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The Iran story has many features common with Vietnam. Apparently a sovereign state, Iran had been turned into a colony by British imperialism, because the only source of its real wealth, oil was monopolised by a British Company, which plundered the country mercilessly. The Tehran imperial court was a handmaid of the British imperial lords. But after second world war, the wind of change affected Iran also and the people rose in revolt against both imperialist exploitation and also corruption and repression of the feudal ruler of their own country.

The result was the emergence of Dr. Mossadegh as Prime Minister who enforced radical reforms and took the historical step of nationalising Iranian oil which gave a staggering jolt to imperialists and colonialists everywhere. Immediately, Mossadegh was branded 'communist' and USA, then very badly bugged by its own cold war, not only joined the unholy front against progressive Iran but assumed its leadership as well. The strategic importance of Iran could not escape the notice of John Foster Dulles, the then American Secretary of States who was retained in this job by the new President Dwight D. Eisenhower.

The now well familiar tactics were used to topple Mossadegh. The Mullahs incited the people after branding Mossadegh infidel. Insurrections were kindered in Kurd and other minority areas. The feudal elements in armed forces and elsewhere put up their own resistance. From outside, economic blockade was imposed. Monarchial Muslim States were used against the "Communist menace in their midst" as an American author described it. Mossadegh was neither communist nor infidel. He was good and patriotic Muslim who wanted to liberate his people from exploitation. And all of them were Muslims. He tried to establish rapport with the Eisenhower Administration as soon as it took over. But he received scant attention and respect.

The book written by Elnor Lansing Dulles, brother of John Foster Dulles and titled "*John Foster Dulles—Last Years*" contains the following interesting revelation:

> "During the temporary interregnum of November 1952, when General Eisenhower and Foster were working

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> together at the Hotel Commodore, a Western Union telegram of four or five pages came in from Prime Minister Mohammed Mossadegh of Iran, then a revolt ridden country. It asked what the attitude of the new Administration would be toward his country. Foster and the General were astonished, for it was highly unusual to be addressed by a government on a serious matter outside the State Department channels. Moreover, the matter would normally be considered top secret. No notice was ever taken of this perhaps unique incident. When the Secretary-designate had time to sit down to consider the reply, he was interrupted by one of the aides with a message. The President-elect scribbled on the piece of paper something to the effect that "I had a free hour so I tried my hands at an answer." The Secretary read it and exclaimed, "For gosh sake! They sent the answer in the same way the message had come in, uncoded, by Western Union."

Finally, Mossadegh was toppled after the Shah suffered a six day exile but was restored to throne by C.I.A. engineered coup in 1953, and Reza Shah Pehlvi assumed full powers to become a dictator. Because of his immense popularity, Mossadegh was spared but thousands of his followers were massacred or thrown into dungeons. The Shah put up a double face. Outwardly he was soft spoken and suave, talked about and carried out some economic reforms. He did not disturb the already established nationalisation of oil but used the increasing oil wealth for tripple purposes: to corner the better part for himself, his family and cronies and deposit the same in foreign countries especially America; use a small part on show window improvement of conditions in Iran like big buildings, some hospitals, educational institutions and so on; the rest going to purchase high cost American and Western arms and planes etc. as to build "strongest armed forces in Asia." He titled himself as King of Kings (Shahinshah) and Sun of Aryans (Aryamehar).

On the other side, he crushed every little opposition or criticism with iron hands. Within months after his return to power

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he fell foul with Shia clergy headed by Ayatollah Khomeini who had to flee to France and live in exile for over a quarter of a century, before he could return to rule over the ruins of Shah's power and prestige. The Shah organised his terrorist secret force SAVAK on Gestapo style with the help of C.I.A. officials, which let loose such a reign of terror that an Iranian could not easily confide even with the wife or son.

Iran under Shah became the main prop in CENTO (first started as Baghdad Pact). The loss of Iraq and also Peshawar aerial spy base increased Iran's strategical importance for the USA and it was turned into largest US military bastion in West Asia. The Shah became "police man" of imperialism in the whole of Persian Gulf zone which he treated like his extended empire. When popular 'Dophar' rebellion broke out in Oman, the Shah despatched his forces to crush it with all brutal force, calling it subersive activities. He played the pivotal part in U.S. grand designs over oil producing West Asia, especially Persian Gulf zone.

The Shah openly supported Pakistan against India over Kashmir issue and gave it massive arms and financial aid including loaning of strategic jet planes, which were used both in 1965 and 1971 aggressions on India. But when 1971 Pak gamble also failed, the Shah began to woo India. He entered into a number of economic collaboration agreements, and advised Pakistan to normalise relations with India.

As the terror of SAVAK and other agencies rose and Iranian students and other citizens were shadowed and terrorised in foreign countries also, the resistance against the Shah grew both within Iran and outside. About two years ago the resistance snow-balled into massive mass revolt against the Shah's tyranny. Unarmed men and women, young and old even children came out in defiance and faced heavily armed troops and police of the Shah. Thousands were killed, but death defying masses in revolt made the functioning of Shah's regime impossible. The Godfathers of the king in USA and elsewhere too tried to help and sustain him. Some concessions were made to the people but these added only fuel to the fire Since progressive forces also joined the Islamic surge, the

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Western propaganda, as usual, dubbed this glorious movement as communist master-minded and Soviet inspired. But all this made no difference as the avalanche of mass surge rolled on, sweeping along every obstacle.

Finally, his imperialist masters, seeing the game was up, thought it better to get Shah out and as also his accomplices, as many of them as possible. In the meantime, colossal Iranian fortunes were transferred abroad. Finally, Khomeini triumphantly returned to Tehran to become supreme spiritual as well as temporal head of Iran.

Nobody supports everything that Islamic revolutionaries have been doing. But everybody hoped that faced with grim problems, the fanaticism part of Iranian revolution would subside and the re-emerged nation would settle down as a progressive, non-aligned entity. However, the imperialism wants to repeat the history of Mossadegh and topple Khomeini at the earliest. For this purpose they want to keep the fanaticism in Iran at high pitch.

Washington set the ball rolling as soon as the Shah left Tehran. Overtures were made to Khomeini and he was also warned against "communist infidels" and the "Soviet danger". The religious zealots in Iran in fact had started quarrelling with progressive forces but for whose active participation the revolution in Iran would have never succeeded. The Washington trick appeared to be working. The Shah was dissuaded from going to America and virtually insulted. This was too much for a crest fallen stooge. He had left Tehran with avowed intention to return with U.S. help and turn the tables against Khomeini. So, Carter's overtures to Revolutionary Iran were not palatable to him and his hidden supporters in CIA and Pentagon. With whose connivance the Shah was able to land in New York and get himself admitted into hospital is still a well guarded secret. But he achieved his aim. It upset the apple cart of Carter's courtship with Khomeini. It led to long and bizarre drama of occupation of US Embassy in Tehran and holding about 60 hostages, of whom about fifty are still there. An apparently insoluable triangle was created with

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Washington, Islamic Revolutionaries of Iran and the deposed Shah as its three sides. It is strange that Tehran and Washington took the same position over Afghanistan issue, although, but for "Soviet intervention", Iran might have been occupied in those very days. Yet, they could not solve hostages issue. The Shah (now dead) did not care for 50 American lives and did nothing to ease the situation. He did not even abdicate in a formal manner. Instead he took refuge with the most hated ruler in Islamic world.

It is obvious that none of the parties directly involved want to solve the issue and get hostages released. The USA made all arrangements to launch a lightening invasion on Iran but had twice to postpone such an adventure. Now it has forced its allies to join it in the economic blockade of Iran although they were not only unwilling but very much resented the US pressure being openly applied. Inside America, the hawks were pressurizing Carter to use force. The typical of this was the statement of the former Secretary for Defence James Schlesinger given soon after the hostages drama began. Describing the fall of the Shah last Jaunary and the rise of Khomeini as "a catalysm for American foreign policy—the first serious revolution since 1917 in terms of world impact," he said, "It is plain that respect for the US would be higher if we didn't just fumble around continuously and weren't half-apologetic about whatever we do. An image of weakness is going to elicit this kind of behaviour."

According to Senator Johnston, President Carter told him "the honour of the country comes first, before the lives of the hostages." Johnston reported that Carter then warned darkly: "Simply by releasing the hostages the slate is not wiped clean." Some participants interpreted this as a threat of military action, but White House aides denied it. Said one : "The President was merely stating the obvious. Any fool knows that an incident like this will affect relationship after the hostages are released" ('TIME' *Magazine Dec. 10, 1979*).

But all the arm twisting and blockade measures against Iran have failed to produce any effect. Every time hopes were

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raised for a solution through U.N. or other third party efforts, these were torpedoed by Washington itself. The latest bizarre act was the attempted commando raid on Iran on April 25, 1980, using hundreds of commandoes and half a dozen heavy transport planes and other aircraft. But for the mishap that forced the "packing up" of this abortive attempt, it would have triggered off a regional or even global war, because the first result would have been killing of the very hostages for whose rescue the operation was launched, also most of the commandoes. The mishap still claimed eight American lives.

Carter ordered this operation even after his allies agreed to join economic blockade against Iran in case hostages were not released by May 15, 1980. Even the necessary Congressional sanctions were not taken. And only a mad man would have launched such an operation. But Carter is not mad.

Then why did Carter attempt such suicidal attack? Because he wanted a pretext to invade Iran. The task force and massive US armada were ready for the purpose in Persian Gulf. And if he could succeed there, he could then invade even Afghanistan.

The U.S. is playing another game also. Playing Shia Muslims against Suni Muslims. The "devout Sunni Muslim", Sadat calls "devout Shia Muslim Khomeini" as a lunatic. According to 'TIME' *Magazine* (*Nov. 25, 1979*); "Middle East experts believe, Sadat was telling the Saudis that he remains responsive to their fears about the rise of radicalism. He has also been reminding them that he does not snub old friends when they need help. Sadat feels that the Sunni Muslims need a defender against Iran's assertive Shiaites, and he would like to fill the role himself. The Saudis quickly reciprocated, assuring Sadat through third parties that they will continue to ship their oil through the Suez Canal and will not withdraw the $ 2 billion that they and the Kuwaitis have deposited in the Central Bank of Egypt".

Even more significant is the comment made by Richard Bulliet of Middle East Institute, Columbia University, "Those currently runing Iran could only interpret the decision as

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hostile. The admission of the Shah to this country sort of confirms the notion that somehow, in the backs of the minds of people in influential places, there is the idea that the revolution is temporary, that nonreligious types are going to emerge, and that the Shah is an old friend and we should treat him well. This is very offensive to the revolutionary government because it looks as if we were conspiring to put the Shah back on the throne."

Thus, it is obvious that the ultimate American aim is to take over Iran again by conspiracy or by force. While the "allies" have openly doubted the effiicacy of blockade measures, Pentagon believes that it will wipe up tensions which will justify their arm intervention. Confusion has been added by different stances taken over the hostages issue by Iran Government the Revolutionary Council——a super-imposition over the Government——and militant Irani students. But ultimately the hostages will be either released or killed. This entirely depands upon Mr. Carter, who first threatened more commando attacks and also regular armed invasion, but now seems to have given up idea to use force.

The death of Shah has rekindled his hopes that Khomeini will be won over. Some secret talks are on. But if even these fail, the option to use force is still open. Before his death, Raza Shah appointed his heir Prince Cyrus as "successor to the throne".

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10

In Retrospect

"You don't change the course of history by turning the faces of portraits to the wall..."

—Jawaharlal Nehru

"As long as people believe in absurdities, they will continue to commit atrocities."

—Voltaire

"We Americans have no commission from the God to police the world."

—Benjamin Harrison in 1888

We boast of vast achievements and power,
Of human progress knowing no defect,
Of strange new marvels, every day and hour——
And here is the breadline in the wintery street !

—Berton Braley.

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IN the last seven months since the failure of CIA putsch in Kabul, international situation has remained adrift and become more confused and uncertain. The world today is gripped by the same fear as it was in the late forties and full decade of fifties. In fact the danger of the outbreak of global war is today more than ever before. The Afghanistan 'events' did not start the cold war; it had been already launched in partnership by Washington and Peking but Afghanistan crisis made the people all over the world feel its sting, and acute sense of danger. Although the efforts to stop the drift have borne little fruit thus far; quite evidently overwhelming forces working for peace have asserted themselves, and prevented head long collision. On the other hand, brinkmanship of Washington-Peking axis is bent upon to further worsen the situation. As, I write this, we witness a mounting tug of war between the forces of peace led by the socialist and non aligned countries and forces of war and tension commanded by Washington-Peking axis, in which, according to the latest indications, the forces of peace are gaining an upper hand. It cannot be said that for how long the present crisis will last, and there is also the danger of sudden and further worsening of the situation, because new trouble spots can burst out—one has brust in South Korea where people rebelled against Fascist puppet regime backed by the USA—but ultimately the peace offensive will triumph.

As if the concentration of 37 major US warships and carriers, some atomic powered and with nuclear arms, and 27,000 marines aboard them, also bigger US task force of 1,10,000 standing nearby were not enough, there were reports of fresh and very heavy cargo of military hardware being despatched to US bases in Indian Ocean from the Los Angeles Coast. These despatches include M-60 tanks, heavy guns and other equipment painted in desert colour. The implication about the possible use of this war material is quite evident.

Whereas the internal situation in Afghanistan has greatly improved to the chagrin of imperialists and hegemonists, fresh moves are on for bigger mischief. In a preceeding chapter, I have pointed out that if Pakistan were to be really non-

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alligned, were really keen to ensure its own security, and wanted to solve the so-called Afghan problem, the key was in its hands. All it had to do was to disallow the use of its own territory as the base for Sino-American engineered aggression against Afghanistan and withdraw its own mercenaries. This should have been logical course for Pakistan, after Washington deferred even "peanuts" aid to it.

Instead, however, President Zia-ul-Haq went to Peking to meet Chinese leaders there, and it is obvious even from his utterances and those of his hosts that Islamabad, instead of working for defusing the tension and paving way for a peaceful settlement as all the non-aligned nations want, has accepted to play its role in any new plot that Sino-US axis most likely will be implementing very soon. Naturally, General Zia will get the expected price for his services, but will such a role be in the interests of Pakistan and its people ?

Soon after his return from Peking, General Zia hosted the Second Islamic Nations Conference in his capital, which was another attempt by Washington-Peking-Islamabad axis to line up Muslim nations against the Revolutionary Afghanistan and the Soviet Union. Zia also tried to exploit the meet against India by again raising Kashmir bogey. But all the blowing of hot and cold did not hide the fact that most Islamic nations have seen through the imperialist game. Accordingly serious objection was raised against the massive US presence in the Persian Gulf zone. Finally, dominant minority in the Conference had to submit to the demand of progressive and middle path majority and seek direct talks with the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, for which a three nation committee was appointed which includes Pakistan (despite Zia's earlier rejection of offer of direct talks by Kabul). The Conference took no notice of Pakistan President's wailings about Kashmir.

Mr. Carter first centred all his ire against Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, expecting that his fake pro-Islamic posture would melt the heart of the ruling Muslim clergy in Iran and they would not only release the hostages but join him in "holy crusade" against the "infidels" in Moscow and Kabul. But this did not happen and; after having exhausted all his

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antics and dramatics, he has already given up Afghanistan as a lost cause, at least for the time being. Even the use of poisonous gas bearing hand grenades supplied by the US to the counter-revolutionaries failed to turn tied in Afghanistan in favour of imperialism, nor did the caluminous allegation by Brzezinski about the use of poisonous gas by the Soviet troops cut any ice.

So, President Carter turned all his attention to Iran in the beginning of April and asked his allies to join him in his programme of "no bars held" sanctions against it. The later were not only reluctant but very resentful against this arm twisting by Washington. They had already cold shouldered suggestions by the USA for the use of forces in Afghanistan. Why ? According to 'TIME' *Magazine*, "in relatively tough counter-moves (in Afghanistan) by the USA its partners will hesitate, feeling that the issue is peripherial to their own security. What is more the allies doubt that the U.S. has the power to take effective action in that part of the world."

So, President Carter on April 7,1980, launched his economic blockade against Iran and threatened naval blockade and other measures including use of force. Simultaneously, he began to test the loyalty of his allies. He told Western European T.V. interviewers a few days later. "We are beyond the time for gestures; we want our people to be set free." In a clear warning that military action against Iran was a distinct possibility, Carter said that the "availability of peaceful measures, like the patience of the American people is running out."

And when the allies refused to join the economic blockade and resented pressure tactics of the USA, Washington launched offensive against them also, chided them for lack of response, while the U.S. press said that this (attitude of the allies) was "success of major Soviet ploy to divide the USA and its allies". Carter himself demanded: "The US needs full and aggressive support of our allies". In Tokyo the U.S. Ambassador Mike Mansfield bemoaned, "We can no longer expect responses like we used to get from our allies automatically." And when the allies resistance to the suicidal approach of Washington

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did not melt, a White House spokesman threatened : "We are just as mad at the allies as at Iran." Complained a senior European expert at the State Department : "The allies have been slow, aggravating beyond belief and sometimes plainly infuriating." And a White House staffer noted, "I don't think that we'll let the Europeans forget this." (All quotes from 'TIME' *Magazine*).

Finally, a lot of more arm twisting by Washington, and the allies' own need for continued American support ended into an agreement. The allies would join economic blockade against Iran if the latter did not release the hostages by May, 15,1980. But three weeks before this deadline and only few days after the deal was struck, Carter carried out abortive aerial piracy and commando attack, on Iran, almost plunging the world into a big war.

Meanwhile, attempts were made to create new trouble spots. Without any cause and provocation (This time it was not even the alleged presence of 6,000 Soviet troops in Cuba) the USA forced its massive military presence in Carribean under the pretext of naval exercises.

All these are manifestations of thickening plot of the Second Cold War and also of very dangerous brinkmanship. The pro-peace camp is, of course, alert but dangers are too obvious to be ignored. The situation raises some pertinent questions :

*Who are basically responsible for the situation and what are their motives ?
*What happens to world tomorrow ?
*How does all this affect India ?
*Is our policy and approach adequate to meet the dangers which are engulfing our country ?

It can be said without fear of contradiction that ruling circles of USA and China are responsible for the current explosive situation ; it is they who have unleased the cold war. They have political and economic motives. Both are after world domination and their greed has turned these former mutual enemies into co-conspirators. Their economies are war

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based. The cold war has averted recession in America. Writing in *The New York Times*, Leonard Silk confessed :

> "The US economic outlook is undergoing metamorphosis as a result of the apparent return of the cold war. Where only recently everyone had been disheartened by the sluggish economy and the dim outlook, suddenly pace has been quickened by the apparent return of the cold war, which financial circles expect to be an economic elixir."

Since the end of Second World War the entire outlook and character of the American nation has sought to be changed by the profiteer monopolists who actually rule that country. The champion of free world has not only taken stubborn stand against any progressive change anywhere in the world but wants to stop the very historical evolution, lest its vested interests are further endangered. The nation which had great anti-colonial tradition, which had fought for and won its own independence from the biggest colonial power on the earth, became the defender of the colonialism and racism the world over.

The die-hard monopolists of the USA and those who back them elsewhere do not realise that it is impossible to stop radical change in human society; that whatever resistance you put up, it is bond to fail. Could the USA with all its might prevent the change in and full liberation of Vietnam ? Was not British Empire liquidated in the very life time of the late Sir Winston Churchill ? How can they thwart or sabotage revolutions in Cuba, Kampuchea or Afghanistan ? But the U.S. monopolists and Chinese chauvinist hegemonists think that such a thing was possible.

The genesis of current international crisis lie in the respective attitudes of the two biggest powers, the USA and the USSR. They agred on the principle of co-existence. This agreement led to detente in Europe. But Washington interprets peaceful coexistence as prepetual status quo everywhere. It denies the subjugated people or those suppressed by fascist regimes as in Chile or South Africa, even the right to revolt and

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achieve the same freedom which Americans are supposed to enjoy. On the other hand, the Soviet concept of peaceful coexistence recognises the right of all subjugated and oppressed people to achieve liberation and freedom.

There are clear indications that the U.S. capitalism in its extreme monopolist character is developing distinct facist tendencies. All that was prepetuated under the cover of anti-commonism and Un-Americanism was nothing but naked fascism. Now, the U.S. international strategies are also assuming fascist postures.

Apparently Abraham Lincoln had seen these tendencies in American body politic. He had administered the following warning:

> "I see in the near future a crisis that unnerves me, and causes me to tremble for the safety of my country. As a result of war, corporations have been enthroned and an era of corruption in high places will follow, and the money power of the country will endeavour to prolong its regin by working upon the prejudices of the people until all the wealth is aggregated in a few hands and the republic destroyed."

But now many Americans claim that Lincoln said nothing like that, and this quote has been falsely attributed to him. It is, however, obvious that this quote whoever be its author had correctly predicted the things to come in America. Certainly Carter's, Nixon's and Truman's America is not George Washington's Jefferson's and Lincoln's America. The American ruling power is today nakedly imperialist, domination seeking and an instrument of exploitation. If these tendencies are not checked then there will not only be "peace marches" in American cities and towns but these will also develop into massive people's revolutionary movement, the very thing that American ruling class fears most. And they would be hardly able to blame the Soviet Union for such inevitable development.

Americans are a great and dynamic people and they had a

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revolutionary character which V.I. Lenin had saluted in the following words :

> "The history of modern, civilised America opens with one of those great wars which are really emancipatory, really revolutionary, of which there have been so few among the great mass of robber wars....That was the war of American people against the British robbers who were oppressing and keeping America in colonial slavery."
>
> (from a Letter to American Workers)

But now America has itself become an imperialist and monopolist power from a capitalist one. It has been opposing liberations movements.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt led America to victory in war against Fascism-Nazism. He did not live to celebrate the victory. The man who succeeded him, Harry S. Truman, and his Secretary of State John Foster Dulles not only set to naught all for what Roosevelt and under his leadership the American nation had fought for but clearly injected a strong doze of fascism in American body politic and also plunged the world in cold war. Here are two quotes from Roosevelt, which are a pointer to growing fascist tendencies in the American establisment :

> "Unhappy events abroad have retaught us two simple truths about the liberty of a democratic people. The first truth is that the liberty of a democracy is not safe if the people tolerate the growth of private power to a point where it becomes stronger than their democratic State itself. That, in its essence, is Fascism.....ownership of government by an individual, by a group, by any other controlling private power."
>
> (Massage to Congress, 1938)

> "We shall not be able to claim that we have gained total victory in this war if any vestige of Fascism in any of its malignant forms is permitted to survive anywhere in the world."
>
> (Message to Congress, September 17,1943)

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Georgi Dimitov and Huey Long had warned, "Fascism in America will attempt to advance under the banner of Americanism, and anti-communism."

The policies of Truman and Dulles based on blind hatred of communism and Soviet Union gave rise to Mac-Arthyism and un-American phobia. The C.I.A. and other secret agencies in America were engaged in hunting against even men and women with least progressive views. Here is the picture of the plight of an average American drawn by Henry Steele Commager, in his book '*American Mind*' :

> "With the Sedition and Espionage Acts.....the "red hysteria" of the Twenties, the Alien Registration Act of 1940, the loyalty tests and purges of the mid-Forties, the establishment of un-American Activities Committees, intolerance received, as it were, the stamp of official approval. Loyalty was identified with conformity, and the American genius, which had been experimental and even rebellious, was required to conform to a pattern."

Langston Hughes depicted the picture in poetry in his "Let America be American again":

> "I am the poor White, fooled and pushed apart,
> I am the Negro bearing slavery's scars,
> I am the Red man driven from the land,
> I am the immigrant clutching the hope I seek...
> And finding only the same old stupid plan
> Of dog eat dog, of mighty crush the weak."

Mafia and such criminal gangs are the worst manifestation of the ugliest fascism in American society. Here is what the most notorious Mafia gang head, Al Capone had said as early as 1929, long before the Second World War.

> "Bolshevism is knocking at our gates. We can't afford to let it in. We have got to organise ourselves against it, and put our shoulders together and hold fast. We must keep America whole and safe and unspoiled. We must keep the worker away from red literature and red ruses; we must see that his mind remains healthy."

And after the world war when Truman and Dulles were following Al Capone's dictum in letter and spirit, he said in

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1956 about his criminal career. "My rackets run on strictly American lines and they are going to stay that way."

From the following quote you can get an idea of how big business cartels control every sphere of life in America. Speaking in the Senate on November 30,1944 George V. Norris said :

> "Mr. President, we are gradually reaching a time, if we have not already reached that period, when the business of the country is controlled by men who can be named on the fingers of ones hand, because these men control the money of the nation, and that control is growing at a rapid rate. There is only a comparatively small part of it left for them to get, and when they control the money, they control the banks, they control the manufacturing institutions, they control the aviation companies, they control the insurance companies, they control the publishing companies; and we have had some remarkable instances of the control of the Committee of the Judiciary."

Since then the capitalist control, taking the shape of colossal cartels and multi-nationals, has not only tightened the grip on American polity, economy and society but also on so many parts of the world. Colonial empires have given place to economic empires of the capitalism and that is what makes the USA the biggest imperialist power. Eugene V. Derbs had said years before the first world war in 1914.

> "Capitalist wars for capitalist conquest and capitalist plunder must be fought by the capitalists themselves. So far as I am concerned.....No worker has any business to enlist in capitalist class war or fight a capitalist class battle. It is our duty to enlist in our own war and fight our own battles."

The country that claims to be, population wise, second largest democracy has actually become the empire of the combination of few powerful and fabulously rich tycoons, whose greed for more profits and more power has led them to the path of war, strife, and conspiracy against other nations. As long as

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arms race suits them, disarmament remains a dream. That is why SALT-II was buried as soon as it was born. International strife stimulated international arms market, so detente has been given a death knell and cold war has been revived. At the same time the USA which itself experienced the fastest change has become the worst opponent of radical and justified change, ignoring the wise words of Edmund Bruce "We must all obey the great law of change. It is the most powerfull law of the nature."

I can't visualise any change for good in the U.S. policy till the leadership there does not undergo radical change, which will be possible only if its imperialists policies and plots are defeated, and public opinion in America asserts itself against rising fascist tendencies.

Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin correctly depicited the present attitude of the US imperialism in a speech he recently delivered during his electoral campaign. He said:

> "The belligerent policy of imperialist forces, their stubborn reluctance to recognise new realities in the world, their attempts to stop the world liberation process, are the true cause of the present aggravation of the international situation. Is this not demonstrated by the extremely hostile reaction of the ruling circles of the U.S. and a number of other capitalist countries to the political changes in Kampuchea, Iran or Afghanistan, where the imperialist plans of stiffling the revolution and turning that country into an outpost of reaction on the southern borders of the Soviet Union, has suffered a failure.
>
> "Any part of the globe, especially if the mainstay of imperialist influence or domination becomes unsteady that is declared by the U.S. a sphere of its 'vital interests' in the name of which it is prepared to use force. And this is done in a totally high-handed manner as though the United Nation Charter, international law or state sovereignty do not exist at all."

How does the Soviet Union stands in contrast to the US? Kosygin himself provided the answer:

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> "As to the Soviet Union, nothing is so alien to us than the desire to develop the welfare of our country at the expense of others. This has been proved by the entire history of the Soviet Union, the first country of socialism that has always remained true to the great principle of the international solidarity of the working people of all countries. We stand for the development of extensive cooperation in the field of economy, science, technology and culture with all the countries of the world that are prepared to base mutual relations on principles of equality and non-interference in each other's affairs. And we will be doing this not because we unilaterally need this, but because this helps strengthen understanding and trust between countries, strengthening the policy of peace and averting a new war."

The self-interest of the Soviet Union also demands that it works for peace. Its socialist economy is not based on the war industry. The less the defence burden the better for it because its primary purposes is to improve the standard of living of its people. Yet, it has to maintain a parity in military strength with the USA, not out of its own volition but for sheer survival. There are very powerful people in the West who still think that Bolshevikism and Bolshevik states can be and must be wiped out of the surface of globe, and they have been since joined by another big power, the Maoist China, whose only programme is to destory the Soviet Union. In the circumstances, the Soviet Union faces double and real threat, whereas the USA or China face no danger at all. The Soviet threat is the product of their imagination, because there are no maniacs in the Soviet leadership who will invite destruction for nothing.

It is undeniable that the Soviet Union has been persistently trying for achieving full and firm disarmament by stages. It refused to be provoked by various aggressive and threatening measures of its opponents. For instance, when Carter launched his plan for planting additional 600 nuclear missiles, the Soviet Union, while seriously warning against the consequences of such a measure, offered more talks and reciprocal cuts in arms

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in Europe, both conventional and nuclear. The imperialists and their Maoist collaborators have been harping the swan song of threat of the Soviet armed might. But the statistics published by the USA itself don't prove the Soviet Union any stronger than the USA or Warsaw Pact countries being better armed than NATO countries. Besides, the total armed might of the Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact nations is certainly very much less than the combined strength of the USA its allies and China.

As regards Afghanistan, it is now conceded even by many allies of the United States that the Soviet Union was forced to take the action it has taken. Indeed, in any armed confrontation, the USA will have to count at least France, Portugal and Italy and perhaps even West Germany out.

Wither goes the world now ? Will it permit war mongers in Washington and their collaborators elsewhere to destory the world peace and with it the better part of the earth ? Certainly not. All the peace loving peoples of the world should launch a militant programme to thwart every aggression and strengthen the peace. The peace loving world is stronger. In this regard non-aligned nations have to play a pivotal role. But it appears that a good number of non-aligned nations have allowed themselves to be misguided by the imperialist propaganda on Afghanistan. Their support for the U.S. sponsored resolution calling for Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, to say the least, was against the basic tenets of non-alignment and against the practical demands of the situation, also against the merits of the case. How could they make such demand without insisting upon prior withdrawal of US-Peking sponsored aggression against Afghanistan ? How could they condon this blatant breach of international law, instead of condemning it ? Can not they themselves be made victims of such sneak aggression ?

India took a correct stand on this issue. But that is not enough. We have affirmed that Soviet withdrawal cannot be treated in isolation from the ending of the other and sneak foreign intervention in Afghanistan. Once it was felt that our Afghanistan policy lacked the candour and clarity. There was some ambiguity about it. It was said that India is opposed to

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presence and use of foreign troops in any country. If that is so, how did we use our army in helping to liberate Bangladesh? Of course, Pakistan had attacked us from the west. But that happened in 1965 also and yet, we did not cross the former East Pakistan border. In fact by our own conduct we have agreed that troops could be sent to help a foreign government if these were sought in a bonafide manner. The Soviet troops were sent to Afghanistan in a bonafide and justified manner.

Afghanistan is not just an academic issue for our country. What has been happening there and in the whole region around, has posed a very serious threat to our country. If the invaders from Pakistan and C.I.A. agents in Kabul had succeeded in their design and hostille forces had assumed power in Afghanistan, India's security would have been jeopardized as much as that of the Soviet Union. Ours more, because we are militarily weak.

We certainly cannot forget our bitter experience in Kashmir, also the fact that Pakistan has not buried the issue even after India's commitment that we shall not liberate the Pak occupied Kashmir by force. If imperialism had caputured Afghanistan, Pakistan would have got without asking all what it would not even dream. Next step would have to been to engulf whole India. Hundreds of Chinese military instructors in Pak occupied Kashmir are not just sitting idle. Let us also not forget that we have only few real friends, the greatest among them being the Soviet Union, which has always proved the friend indeed. Do we own no moral obligation to it? After all what has this friendly country done except taken very minimum and legitimate defensive action against a very grave threat?

It was semi-officially explained that since India was engaged in a sort of peace initiative it would not be proper for it to take sides. Well, what has been the outcome of this initiative? It did not take the shape of regular mediatory effort because response is not encouraging. Apart from talking with those V.I.Ps who visited New Delhi after she was again chosen the Prime Minister of India, and apart from diplomatic probing, Mrs. Gandhi personally met top leaders of the involved parties during her Salisbury and Belgrade visits. While she had talks with

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Brezhnev, Schimdt, Margaret Thatcher, Zia-ul-Haq and even Hua Guofeng, also others, she could not meet any top American leader. From the very outset the Soviet side has made it known to her, that it was willing to go by her own publicly stated stand; that while the Soviet troops should leave Afghanistan, the sneak aggression on that country should also end, and there should be a firm guarantee against its recurrence. Obviously the other side has not accepted her proposal. Even Zia could not be persuaded to talk directly with Kabul. He rejected the proposal by Afghan Government for direct talks among the representatives of Afghanistan, Iran and Pakistan. This offer was made on the eve of the second conference of Muslim nations called by Pakistan. It was only after a majority of Muslim nations had exerted pressure that a three nations committee was appointed to have talks with Kabul. But it appears that this will prove a still born gesture.

Of course let our Prime Minister carry on her peace initiative because that atleast helped in mobilising world opinion against escalation and thus, prevent big power armed confrontation. But the country itself must be prepared to meet any danger. The best course for us is to stand by our true friends and take an unequivocal stand. If we do that, the other non-aligned nations will take the cue and come out in support of our peace efforts. Let us clearly state that under the prevailing circumstances the Soviet action in Afghanistan was quite justified.

Apart from the immediate danger, there is the long term threat not only to our security but also to economy. The revived cold war has set in motion a colossal arms race. China has successfully tested its Inter-Continental Ballastic Missile (ICBM). Pakistan's nuclear bomb may explode any time. The arms race will erode our, and so many other countries' economic growth. The hopes for a equitable world economic order have been dashed to the ground. Something has to be done to stop this drift. In this regard the Soviet Union is continuing its earnest efforts.

Recently, the NATO and Warsaw Pact Councils met almost simultaneously at their headquarters. Whereas the NATO

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decided unspecified measure to further mount the arms build up especially of the weaponary of mass annihilation "in view of the Soviet aggression on Afghanistan", the Warsaw Pact countries decided, instead, to make fresh initiative for peace, detente and disarmament. They called for convening a world conference to solve burning international problems.

There have been some other recent developments also. President Carter, under the pressure of his allies has finally given up the idea to use force against Iran. Instead, fresh but abortive attempts were made to escalate aggressive war and subversion against Afghanistan. But the situation there is now so stable that on its own the Soviet Union has withdrawn a part of its armed forces.

There was one meeting at Vienna between the Foreign Ministers of the USSR and the USA, Gromyko and Muskei, but it apparently failed to break the ice. Later, the Venice Summit of the USA and its main European allies also failed to achieve the basic aim of President Carter, because most of his allied now believe that the USSR does not want war and is prepared for an honourable political solution of Afghanistan as well. Later, in Tokyo while attending funeral of former Japanese Premier Ohira, President Carter finalised the plan for the US-Japan-China military alliance which is to be linked with South East Asia and then ANZUS, the military pact of America Australia and Newzealand, to complete the eastern part of the US global strategical circle.

The propaganda carried out by pro-Washington and pro-Peking lobbies about the shift in India's policy on Afghanistan during and after Foreign Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao's visit to Moscow was given conspicuous burrial by India's recognition of the new People's Government of Kampuchea and categorical reply given by the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi to Pakistan Foreign Minister, Agha Shahi that the Soviet troops withdrawal from Afghanistan would be possible only after the aggression on that country ceased. The two issues could not be divorced from each other, she emphasized.

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So, there is now no ambiguity about the Indian policy on Afghan issue. It is also obvious India will not "purchase" normalisation with Pakistan or China by compromising on its principles or at the expense of its friends.

As I close this discussion, I find the world on crossroads of war and peace. Quo Vadis humanity? No one can answer the question, although 99 percant people yearn for peace.

Today world is spending (or say wasting) about one billion US dollars every day on armaments alone. If even half of this expenditure is invested or spent to fight poverty and squalor of of the world's unprivileged and underprivileged majority; hunger, want, disease and ignorance can be eliminated from the face of the earth in less than a decade.

We have to fight the cold war by the peace offensive. India can not but actively support such endeavour. We have to remind the world the verse of Berton Braley.

> Ten thousand years replete with every wonder,
> Of empires risen and of empires dead;
> Yet, while the rich roll in swolien plunder,
> These broken men must stand in line for bread.

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11
Significant Viewpoints

HERE are some significant viewpoints of the spokesmen of the countries on whom the recent events had direct bearing.

India's Foreign Minister

Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao did not agree with that the author that cold war started with the Chinese invasion on Vietnam. He observed, "It is very difficult to say exactly when and how the persent phase of the cold war started. China's invasion on Vietnam was definitely not a part of the cold war; it was very much a "hot" war. We would do well to remember that even before the ink had dried on the Helsinki Final Act, the mass media in the West had started raising the bogey of human rights against the Soviet Union and Easten Europe. At the same time when a special session of the UN General Assembly was held to discuss Disarmament, a NATO meeting held in Washington was taking decisions to increase their military spendings. Irrespective of who fired the first shot, the fact remained that shots were being fired for quite sometime in this new phase of the cold war."

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On Afghanistan the Indian Foreign Minister said:

> "We have always said that events in Afghanistan should not be looked at in isolation.
>
> "Time has shown that of all the outside countries which reacted to the events in Afghanistan, India has taken a stand which has been the most consistent and one which could ultimately bring about some kind of peaceful settlement of the various issues arising in our region. It is clear that it will have to be a package solution eventually, However, it is too early to spell out the ingredients of the solution which will evolve itself in due course. It is difficult to answer categorically whether assistance by armed forces of one country to another is always and totally wrong and must be opposed as a matter of principle. The answer will naturally depend on the merits of each case. However, our stand in the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan is based on another very important factor, viz. that the need to keep this region free from great power confrontations and to enable countries of the region, particularly Afghanistan, to exist as an independent and non-aligned country. Precisely for this, a package solution referred to above would be needed."

U.S. Ambassador

A set of questions were submitted to the US Ambassador in India, Mr. Robert Goheen. In reply his aide sent me the copy of long interview he had given to some Delhi's journalists. In this he observes:

> "I think fundamentally we have to recognize that America, for better or worse, is a world power, has to look at many issues in global terms whereas India is primarily a regional power and tends to look at the world in a somewhat more constricted geographical framework than America does. I don't see that there are fundamental differences between us other than that these. There was a time in American foreign policy, after the second world war, when we couldn't understand nonalignment, and we tended to think that people who weren't with us, were against us. I think

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the American Government has learned to appreciate nonalignment and the principles on which the nonalignment was founded. Our expectations of India today then, are not that it join the American camp but that it be a leader of nonaligned movement, that it stands for the principles of the nonaligned movement."

I think even Mr. Goheen who was born in India and spent his childhood here, has not understood the essence of Indian policy. We deny the right of any nation, including, America to be even a big power in the sense that it dominates others. India does not want or intend to be the "leader" of nonalignment. All such suggestions sound hegemonist. We believe in being one among equals, whether in the world community or nonaligned fraternity.

In the whole transcript the US Ambassador has nowhere explained or defended the extremist and in some respects wild reaction of his Government to so-called Afghan events, also the US and Chinese involvement in sneak agression on Afghanistan. The questioning journalists have also overlooked this basic aspects of the current international situation. My own questions on the subject are unanswered. Nevertheless, Mr. Goheen admits that Pakistan was an important ally of the USA against the Soviet Union and also against People's Republic of China "at one stage" but now the situation had changed, in the latter's case. After underlining the implications of Afghan events for "vital interests" of the Western world, the US Ambassador observes:

"India's experience with the Soviet Union has been largely one of the very smooth supportive retationship. I would expect that the Soviet movement in Afghanistan is the first thing the Soviet have done that in anyway tends to threaten India."

The events have since proved that Mr. Goheen and those of his thinking are sadly mistaken in this regard.

Soviet Ambassador

The USSR Ambassador, Yuli M. Vorontsov agrees with me that the fresh cold war was engineered long before the so-called Afghan events. He told *Surya India* :

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"But matter is that recently, before the "Afghan events", the USA and its partners in the West and the Far East took several unfriendly steps which were directly hostile to the USSR and deterimental to the cause of universal peace. And these very steps sharply aggravated the situation and created considerable danger to peace and security of all peoples.

"Thus, even in spring 1978 the USA "response" to the special session of UN General Assembly on disarmament was to impose a long-term programme of large-scale armaments on the NATO countries. Deng Xiaoping's visit to Washington in January, 1979 started "a honeymoon" of the Carter administration and Peking, marked by overtly anti-Soviet undertones. And almost immediately after this 600,000-strong Chinese army invaded Vietnam, captured and destroyed cities, killed thousands of people. But neither the USA nor its NATO allies had voiced any protest or indignation.

"The US military plans in this region of the world (Indian Ocean) have a definite purpose. At present the United States have in the Indian Ocean a whole network of bases which are being constantly enlarged and modernised. Along the perimeter are bases in the Persian Gulf as also the air base in Masire Island in the Arabian Sea, the air and naval base of the Republic of South Africa at Simonstown, the military bases at Cockburn Sound and North West Cape (Australia), and the Subic Bay and Clark Field bases in the Philippines.

"The Pentagon has a special regard for the Diego Garcia atoll in the central part of the ocean. The USA turned it into an 'unsinkable aircraft carrier', a place d'armes of aggression, from which warships can reach any of the littoral countries within two days, and aircraft within few hours."

The Soviet Ambassador has revealed that from March 1978 Afghan Government had requested for the dispatch of the Soviet forces at least 14 times including four times by Amin.

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Pak Point of View

Questions were also submitted to the Ambassador of Pakistan in India in which, interalia, it was suggested why Pakistan should not become true non-aligned nation and rely more or friendship with its neighbours than become a part of US-China global gambit, and if Islamabad wanted the earliest withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan, it should stop aggression against its western neighbour and also inflow of the US and Chinese arms to those carrying on war against Afghanistan from Pakistan. The Ambassador expressed his inability to go beyond what was stated in official statements of Pakistan Government (which with some literature were supplied). The official position of Pakistan is that it has nothing to do with the "rebels" carrying on war against its neighbour from its territory.

A booklet sent along, however, extols the Afghan rebels, and calls for help for them. It also carried a significant passage at the end. It say, "First it were boat people; now it the mountain people". This means that first it was liberation of Bangladesh and now it is People's Revolution in Afghanistan. Both of these historical events have hurt the imperialist and feudal interests everywhere in the world....What a confession!

Vietnam Ambassador

The Ambassador of socialist Republic of Vietnam in India, Mr. Nguyen Van Sinh agreed with the author that Vietnam has become a big impediment in pursuing the Sino-US global gamble. He said, the Vietnam was the outpost of socialist community in South East Asia, to wipe out which Peking launched aggression against it in February 1979. But China failed in this misadventure as the USA had failed in long drawn aggressive war against Vietnamese people. According to the Ambassador, the cold war in east and started much earlier.

He said, "Sino-US imperialism was afraid of Socialist Vietnam. The August 1945 revolution in our country not only led to liberation of our country but also of so many other countries. Now, revolution in Kampuchea had unnerved the axis; hence, all the bluff and bluster." The Ambassador

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added, "Maoism is neither socialism nor communism; it is imperialism in disguise. Maoist China wants to expand in all directions, especially in the direction of South East Asia. The Indian people who have suffered Maoist aggression and perfidy should know better. India and Vietnam will together prove the greatest bulwork against hegemonism and imperialism. The map of Greater China published in 1950, which continues to be part of text books in Chinese schools, is the glaring testimony of Peking's expansionist design. As long as these designs persist, there will no real peace in Asia and the world."

The Vietnamese Ambassador welcomed India's recognition of Kampuchean People's Republic and said this will greatly contribute to strengthening of peace and stability in Asia.

Socialist Bloc

In my informal talks with the Ambassadors of European Socialist countries, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia especially, I found them in full agreement with the Soviet Union's help to Afghanistan Government and its unrelenting efforts for preserving detente in Europe and promoting disarmament. They believe that sooner or later, West European nations will cooperate with these peace efforts.

One diplomat pointed out that the imperialist had raised much hue and cry when the Soviet Union helped the peoples of Hungary and Czechoslovakia against the counter-revolutionaries. What is the result? Both socialist countries today are models of stability, independence and progress, and their people enjoy a high standard of life, all rights and cultural advancement.

"The Soviet troops are in East Europe because many more US troops are in West Europe. It is the Soviet Union which has offered withdrawal of these troops on reciprocal basis, and it is the USA which has rejected this proposal," another diplomat quipped.

Afghan Stance

There has been lot of American propaganda, also echoed by some despotic and feudal, therefore, essentially anti-Islamic regimes of some Muslim countries, that Islam was in danger

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in Afghanistan. When I pointed out this to a senior Afghan diplomat he gave me the full text of the speech delivered by President Babrak Karmal, while inaugurating the Conference of Islamic Scholars and Clergy in Kabul on July 2. In this speech the Afghan President affirmed that the system of governance in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan (DRA) is based on Islamic tenets and it followed Shariat law. He said that Article 5 of DRA Fundamental Principles stipulates.

> "Islam is respected and observed in DRA and the freedom of religious practice is guaranteed for all Moslems".

The DRA Fundamental principles say in another place.

> "The Government helps the clergy and religious scholars to carry on their patriotic activities and religious obligations."

Then Babrak Karmal quoted from Quran:

> "Oh you prophet, haven't you seen that your Creator did to Aad's tribe who had had grand majestice palaces, unparalleled in other six climes? And what he did to Jews who had built shelters from solid rocks and Pharoa who possessed numerous horses?
>
> "They were the people who overlooked the principles of justice and humanism, encouraged vices and increasingly corrupted human life. Then your Creator subjected them to tribulation and defeat; verily, your Creator watches the oppressors and the corrupt."

The DRA is trying to follow this basic spirit of Islam as ennuciated in the above Quranic truth.

THE END

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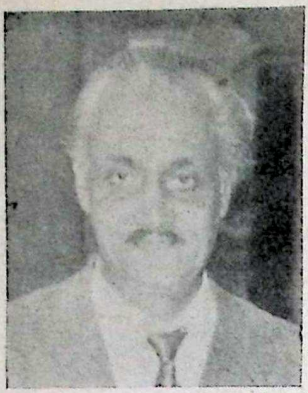

A veteran journalist and writer in English, Urdu and Hindi on a variety of subjects, especially national and international affairs, B.N. Kaul, now 52, has over 30 years experience to his credit. This, however, is his first major work on international politics.

Born on February 18, 1928 in Srinagar-Kashmir, he had to cut short his college career due to complete loss of hearing faculty. Since then it has been the long odyssey of self-teaching, deep studies and contribution to various journals.

Since 1951, B.N. Kaul has been working on the editorial staff of Daily Milap, now as its News Editor.

Why should human race aspiring and striving for peace and a better world to live in, and even making progress towards this goal, suddenly find itself engulfed by another cold war ?

Why have more volcanic trouble spots—Afghanistan, concentration of naval forces in Indian Ocean, Kampuchea, Thailand—been added to the existing ones—West Asia, Korea, Indian Sub-continent, Chile, Caribbean—which Vietnam, have started emitting more lava ?

Where is the newly sparked cold war heading ? What fate will it bring for mankind ? What are the motivations behind the renewed international conflicts ?

We know each such conflict is between an aggressor and a defender. We also know that aggressor now always pretends to be defender and accuses the defender of aggression.

In the maze of these accusations, **B.N. KAUL**, a journalist of international affairs, has attempted an objective analysis of the current cold war in the context of irrefutable fact—both obvious and oblivious. This work-**Dulles Resurrected** links the roots of current cold war with that of the fifties. It discusses the views of both sides involved in the current international conflict and arrives at definite conclusion.

Rs. 40/-